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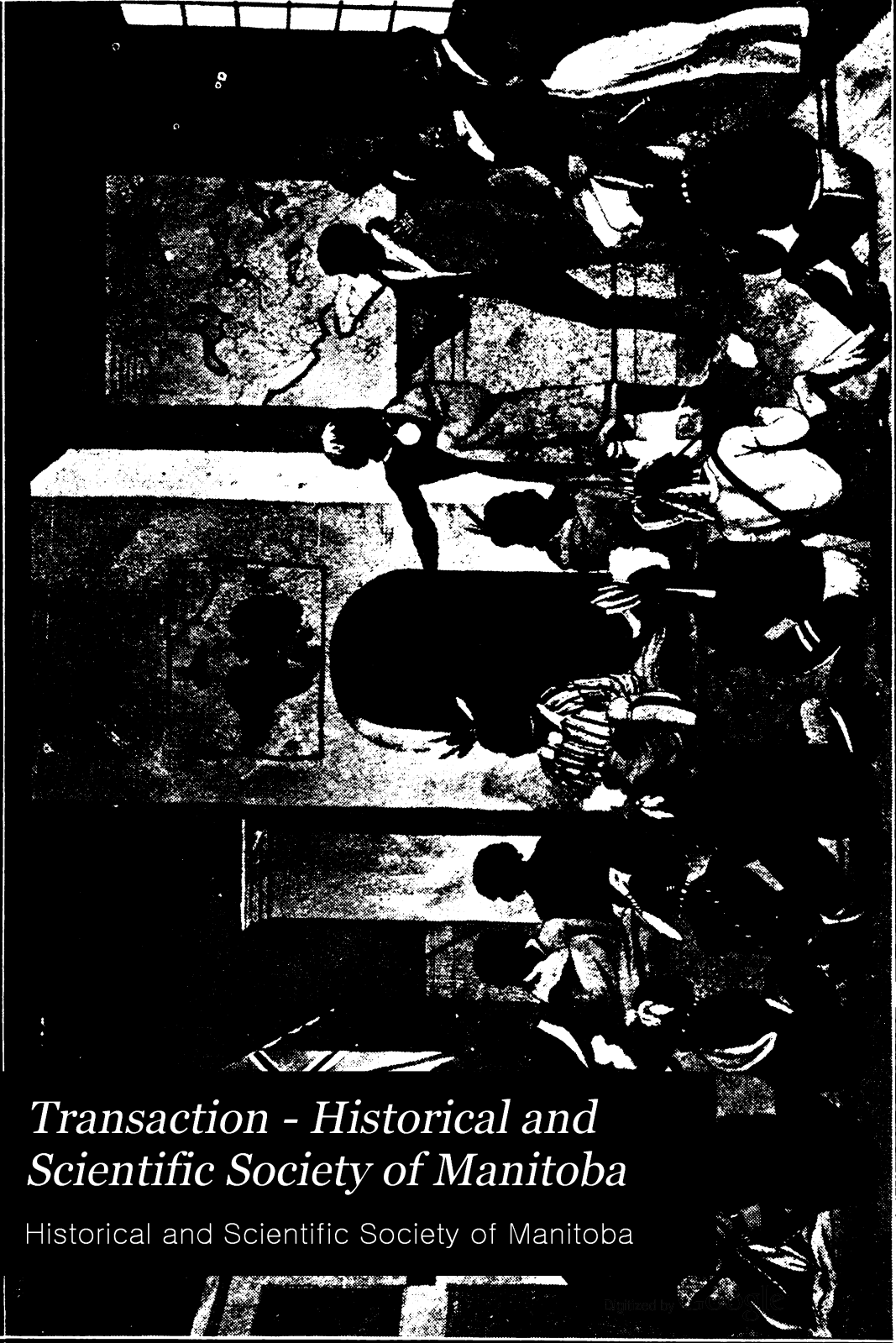

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SOME

RED RIVER SETTLEMENT HISTORY

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY APRIL 29TH, 1887

BY

CHARLES N. BELL, F.R.G.S.,

Honorary Corresponding Member Buffalo Historical Society, Chicago Academy of Science, Hamilton Association, Scottish Geographical Society, &c.

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SOME
RED RIVER SETTLEMENT HISTORY.

A paper read before the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society, April 28th, 1887, by Charles N. Bell, F.R.G.S.

During a visit to Ottawa last year I spent some time in the Archives Department, searching among the files of correspondence obtained by the Canadian Government from the Imperial authorities, for information relating to the history of the Red River settlement. With the kind assistance of Mr. D. Brymner, the archivist, I succeeded in finding the original correspondence, or part of it at any rate, that passed between the Hudson's Bay company and the British Government, resulting in the despatch of regular troops to Fort Garry in 1857.

The Hudson's Bay company, at that date, governed the inhabitants of the Red River settlement, and claimed, over a vast extent of country, the privilege of exclusive trade, etc.; but Canada contested the right of the company to these privileges, and was moving to gain possession of the Northwest, having sent representatives to London for that purpose, and to press on the Imperial Government the claims of Canada as against those of the Company. The occasion was opportune, as the license for the exclusive trading privileges for 20 years in what was termed the Indian territory, granted by the Imperial authorities to the company in 1838, was about expiring.

On the 5th February, 1857, the British House of Commons ordered "That a select committee be appointed to consider the state of those British possessions in North America which are under the administration of the Hudson's Bay company, or over which they possess a License of Trade."

The committee included amongst its members such prominent persons as Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Labouchere, Lord John Russell and Lord Stanley.

As the meetings of this committee were held at a date when some of the correspondence which I have obtained was being carried on, it is thus possible, and very interesting, to compare the different views advanced by interested persons as to why troops ought to have been sent, and why they were sent, to the Red River settlement.

British troops had already been stationed at Fort Garry from 1846 to 1848 on account of public demonstrations against the administration of justice by the council of Assiniboia, and of the trouble brewing at the time of the Oregon Treaty. A body of pensioners succeeded the regular troops in 1848.

As will be seen by the evidence presented later on, the people of Assiniboia were very much discontented, and anxious to attach the colony to Canada.

This was the state of affairs at the date when the following letter was written:

[EXTRACT of a letter from Sir George Simpson to the secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, London, Eng., dated at Lachine, 20th October, 1856.]

"The chief topic of interest in the Red river letters is the arrival at Pembina of a detachment of one hundred United States troops, with the view of making preparations for forming a permanent garrison at St. Joseph's (Pembina) next year, to which end contracts have been made for timber, grain, etc. After having completed these preliminary arrangements, the troops are to go into winter quarters at Fort Snelling, returning to Pembina early next spring. The military occupation of the frontier by the United States is a matter which affects British interests at large, and I trust that a representation on the subject to her Majesty's Government may go far towards inducing them to form at Red river settlement the nucleus of a military force (regulars), which may serve as a counterpoise to the growing influence of the United States in the Northwest Territory."

We see by this letter that Sir George Simpson took the ground that British interests in general were threatened by the presence of American troops at the international line; but we will see further on that while he advanced this view, he at the same time held others in reserve, to use when the occasion offered.

This letter, addressed to the secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, in London,

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g. of C. C. Willoughby.
Rec'd Feb 23, 1927.

was forwarded to Mr. Labouchere, then Colonial Secretary.

Next in order is the following extract from a letter of John Swanson, to the secretary of the H. B. Co. at London, dated Fort Garry, 6th Oct., 1856, which was forwarded by John Shepherd, Governor of the company, to the Rt. Hon. H. Labouchere on the 27th Nov., 1856:

"In the early part of last month a party of "American troops, consisting of about 200 men: "arrived at Pembina under the command of "Col. Smith, who forwarded me a notice, copy "of which I herewith beg to hand you, prohibit-"ing the inhabitants of this settlement from "crossing the boundary line between Great "Britain and the United States, for the pur-"pose of hunting the buffalo or trapping furs, "etc.

"This notice I expect will not be much at-"tended to by our plain hunters, as they have "already departed for their fall hunt, which "they intend to make wherever they fall in "with the buffalo, whether on British or Am-"erican territory. I have not been able to "learn the object the American Government "had in view in sending in this expedition to "Pembina, but I rather suspect it was for the "purpose of examining the localities for the "erection at no distant period of a permanent "garrison either at Grahame's Point, the head "waters of the river, or at Pembina."

Following is the notice referred to in Mr. Swanson's letter.

"NOTICE.

"To all whom it may concern:—

"Headquarters, Battalion 10th Infantry, "Pembina expedition, camp at St. Joseph's, "Minnesota Territory, Sept. 3rd, 1856.

"The undersigned, the commanding officer "of a military expedition, which arrived to-day "from Fort Snelling via Lake Minniewatkin, "has the instructions of the President of the "United States to notify such of the inhabi-"tants of the British Possessions as are in the "habit of crossing the boundary line between "the United States and Great Britain (49th "parallel of north latitude) for the purpose of "hunting and trapping, etc., on American soil "that such depredations will no longer be per-"mitted, the undersigned accordingly hereby "warns all such persons not to enter the terri-"tory of the United States for the above men-"tioned purpose.

"(Signed) C. F. SMITH,
"Col. in the U. S. Army,
"Commanding."

That a number of traders and others in Minnesota were anxious that the United States should obtain possession of the Hudson Bay Territories, is well known, and this proclamation may have been issued with the idea that the people of the settlement would agitate for annexation if they found themthemselves cut off from access to the buffalo country, stretching across the line towards the Missouris, which was a locality annually resorted to by the Red River settlers to procure skins and provisions.

A petition had already gone from some of the inhabitants of Assiniboia to the American Government, as is seen by the recorded evidence of Mr. Isbister before the House of Commons committee in London, on March 1, 1857, in these questions and answers:

Q.—Is it within your knowledge that any application or complaint was ever made to the Government of America on the subject?

A.—There was a petition addressed by the Red River settlers to the American Government, I believe.

Q.—What is the date of the petition?

A.—It was about 1846, at the time of the excitement connected with the Oregon boundary question.

Q.—What was the general purport of the petition?

A—I believe that they desired the American Government to annex the Red river territory to the United States, and promised their assistance against the Hudson's Bay Company, in the event of a war. I believe that was the object of it.

Sir George Simpson probably had this petition in his mind's eye when advising the quartering of British troops at Fort Garry. The complaints of the people of Assiniboia were embodied in various petitions to the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and Canada. The general form of the petition sent to the Legislative Assembly of Canada, dated in April, 1857, was as follows:—

After reciting dissatisfaction with the rule of the Hudson's Bay Co; the trouble of procuring deeds for their lands except on such terms as would by their construction reduce them to a state of absolute slavery; the search of their houses for furs by armed police; the breaking open of their trunks by armed constables when on their annual commercial journeys into Minnesota; all furs being confiscated; the interference with persons of aboriginal descent to an extent endangering the peace of the settlement; the people having no voice in the selection of the members of the Legislature; the exclusive system of the company which prevented the inhabitants from devoting their energies to tilling the soil, and other industrial pursuits, the petition closes in these words:

"As British subjects, we desire that the same liberty and freedom of commerce, as well as security of property, may be granted to us as is enjoyed in all other possessions of the British Crown, which liberty is become essentially necessary to our prosperity and to the tranquility of this colony.

"We believe that the colony in which we live is a portion of that territory which became attached to the Crown of England by the Treaty of 1763, and that the dominion heretofore exercised by the Hudson's Bay Company is an usurpation antagonistic to civilization and to the best interests of the Canadian people, whose laws being extended to us, will guarantee the enjoyment of those rights and liberties which would leave us nothing to enjoy in the institutions of the neighboring territory.

"When we contemplate the mighty tide of emigration which has flowed towards the north these six years past and has already filled the valley of the Upper Mississippi with settlers, and which will this year flow over the height of land and fill up the valley of the Red river, is there no danger of being carried away by that flood, and that we may thereby lose our nationality? We love the British

name! We are proud of that glorious fabric, the British constitution, raised by the wisdom, cemented and hallowed by the blood of our forefathers.

"We have represented our grievances to the Imperial Government, but through the chicanary of the company and its false representations we have not been heard, much less have our grievances been redressed. It would seem, therefore, that we have no other choice than the Canadian plough and printing press, or the American rifle and Fugitive Slave law.

"We, therefore, as dutiful and loyal subjects of the British Crown humbly pray that your honorable House will take into your immediate consideration the subject of this our petition, and that such measures may be devised and adopted as will extend to us the protection of the Canadian Government laws and institutions, and make us equal participators in those rights and liberties enjoyed by British subjects in whatever part of the world they reside.

"Wherefore, your petitioners will ever pray.

(Signed) "RODERICK KENNEDY,"
And 574 others.

Sir George Simpson seems to have had at an early date, a dread of a clashing of the interests of the inhabitants with those of the company, for the Hon. Donald Gunn, informs us, in his History of Manitoba, with a knowledge of the facts, he being a resident of the settlement at the time, that Sir George had erected, in 1831 33, the stone walls of Lower Fort Garry as a refuge, in case of an outbreak among the French Metis. It is noticeable that while the French in 1849 assumed a threatening attitude during the Sayer trial and secured his liberation, thus virtually breaking up the monopoly of exclusive trade in furs of the company, that the agitation about 1857 was raised principally by the English-speaking portion of the community.

Next in order in the correspondence, we have what is evidently the answer to a letter of enquiry regarding the nature of the encroachments on the American frontier, which drew forth such a proclamation from the officer commanding the American troops at Pembina.

Extract from a letter from Sir George Simpson to J. Savile Lumley, Esq., dated Lachine, 1st Nov. 1856:

"In reply to your enquiry as to the nature of the encroachments said to have taken place on the frontier near Red river, from British into American territory, which necessitated the presence of United States troops at Pembina last summer, I have to state that the only transaction reported to me which could bear the name of an encroachment was the annual excursion of parties of Indians and Half breeds from Red river settlement to the buffalo hunting grounds in the plain country lying between the Saskatchewan and Missouri rivers, where from time immemorial they have chased those animals every summer; the natives of the country, the descendants of the aboriginal tribes, whether pure Indians or their half-breed children claiming the rights of hunting wild animals over the whole country, irrespective of international boundaries. It would be difficult to make those semi-savage people comprehend that hunting on one side of an imaginary line was perfectly legal, whereas the same pursuit on the opposite was a grave offence.

"But with those encroachments the Hudson's Bay Co. has no connection, they are carried on by the Indians and free settlers who make the chase their occupation, living almost entirely on the produce of their hunts, selling any surplus collection of buffalo meat or robes, either to the company at the Red River settlement or to the American traders settled at or near Pembina.

The American traders complained that the British hunters crossed the international line and carried back with them the produce of their hunts, while the Hudson's Bay Co. secured the furs and provisions, because the traders were not allowed to come in from the American side to barter. In other words the company had entrance to an extensive fur country in the United States, without giving in exchange to the Americans the privilege of trading on British soil.

Then comes the following correspondence:

War Department, 12th Dec. 1856, from Lord Panmure, secretary, for information of Secretary Labouchere.

Lord Panmure had great reluctance in sending troops to isolated posts like Red river, and he suggests that further particulars be obtained from Sir George Simpson as to cause of movement of United States troops.

War Department, 6th March, 1857. Lord Panmure to Sir Wm. Eyre, Canada, acknowledging receipt of report on state of affairs at Red river, and "the application which has been made by the Hudson's Bay company for a detachment of troops to be again stationed at Fort Garry."

So anxious was the Hudson's Bay Co. to have troops sent to Fort Garry that their governor in London offered, on behalf of the company, to pay for their transport both ways, and maintenance, "on account of the existing state of affairs at Fort Garry and its neighborhood."

The American troops having departed from Pembina, after a stay of a month, it could no longer be advanced that "British interests at large" were imperilled by their presence, but it seems that other agencies were supposed to be at work, imperilling the company's interests, for we find from other sources that the Canadian Government had despatched an exploring expedition to the Red River settlement that year.

HUDSON'S BAY HOUSE,
23rd March, 1857.

To Rt. Hon. H. Labouchere, &c., &c.

SIR,—As the period for the departure of Sir George Simpson for Canada approaches, I am naturally anxious to obtain your decision on the subject of our application for the assistance of a detachment of military at the Red River settlement.

I have ventured to wait upon the secretary for war, on the subject, and his lordship has given me reason to expect that if I applied on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Co. for a hundred or a hundred and twenty rank and file of the Canadian Rifle corps with a field officer, and the other necessary commissioned officers that he was of the opinion that His Royal Highness the commander in chief would give his consent. It being understood that the Hudson's Bay Co. should defray the expense of the transport of those troops and also afford them free of ex-

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pense the usual daily rations of good wholesome provisions during their service at Red River.

So anxious am I to obtain this important assistance under the existing state of things at Fort Garry, and its neighborhood, that I am prepared on the part of the Hudson's Bay Co. to accede to the terms mentioned.

I beg leave therefore to request that you will have the goodness to communicate your approval of his arrangement to Lord Panmure and thus enable us to furnish Sir George Simpson with instructions to take the necessary measures for preparing transport for the troops immediately on his arrival in Canada.

I have, &c.,
JOHN SHEPHERD,
Gov. of H. B. Co.

The war department still hesitated about granting the troops, and it is evident that the general commanding in Canada objected to such a disposal of his force, but the following correspondence shows that his objections were overruled.

DOWNING STREET,
25th March, 1857.

Sir B. Hawes, K.C.B.,
from Herman Merivale,
Under Colonial Secretary.

Directed by Secretary Labouchere to acknowledge receipt of letters of 6th inst.

General Eyre apparently, in these letters, objects to stationing troops at Red River, Secretary Labouchere while admitting the force of the objections considers them "overbalanced by the necessity for the presence of a military force of some description." "I am to request that you will state to His Royal Highness that Lord Panmure considers the above to form the best arrangement which can be adopted for affording that protection to the lives and property of the company's servants, and the settlers resident within the territory, which is thus earnestly pressed on Her Majesty's Government."

HORSE GUARDS,
3rd April, 1857.

His Royal Highness decides to send 120 men of the Royal Canadian Rifles and regrets that the garrison will have to be withdrawn from St. John's.

"But His Royal Highness can only recommend this as a temporary measure and considering that it will be expedient in consequence of the rigorous and severe climate at Fort Garry, periodically, namely every two or three years, half of the regiment or its present establishment will be absent at one time."

He recommends that the regiment be increased to eight companies or eight hundred rank and fyle.

The troops were sent, going by the Great Britain, a sailing vessel, from Canada to York Factory, (where, on the 25th September, 1857, they presented an address to the ship captain for his attention to there wants, and skill in navigation). and thence in open boats to Fort Garry, where they remained for four years, returning to Quebec in 1861. Notwithstanding the fears of His Royal Highness the commander in chief, "that the rigorous and severe climate would injure the health of the men," the death roll of the regiment showed no great additions, as may easily be imagined by the present inhabitants of the country.

In the light of the fact that the Canadian Government fitted out exploring parties under S. J. Dawson and Prof. H. Y. Hind in 1857, to examine the country between Lake Superior and the Red River, so that a report would be available on the character of the country, with the state and condition of the Red River settlement lands and people, it is now highly amusing and interesting to read the reasons given by a prominent shareholder of the company as to why troops were required at Fort Garry that year.

In the report from the select committee of the British House of Commons on the Hudson's Bay Co. in 1857, is the following answer given by the Rt. Hon. E. Ellice, M. P., a large shareholder in the company and who was formerly a shareholder in the old Northwest Co., which, mainly through his efforts, was consolidated with the H. B. Co. in 1820-1821. The answer was given in reply to whether a military force would be required at Red River, in the event of a Crown colony being established there. "There has been a military force once or twice sent there at the desire of the Hudson's Bay Co., and latterly they have applied to the Government again. They were threatened with the invasion from Canada of some gentlemen coming in to look after the fur trade. They thought that might excite some disturbances among the half-breeds, and that it might easily extend across the line. There was further danger from disputes and threatened hostilities between the Americans and Indians. It would not be very desirable to leave that part of Her Majesty's dominions without protection under such circumstances. They have therefore lately applied to the Government to send out some troops, which the Government pay, and the H. B. Co. feed."

On the same day (June 23rd, 1857), when asked if the troops then going to the Red River were to be utilized for the preservation of peace, he answered—"Yes, to prevent any alarm about the half-breeds; there have been disturbances in the adjoining territory between the Americans and the Indians; there have been such disturbances in Minnesota; the country has been threatened with war there lately, and we were alarmed that it might extend; the Indians when once engaged, get to war with one another, and they are not even scrupulous as to whom they attack, and it was supposed to be better to be in a state of preparation against any emergency."

Again he answered in reply to the question: "When the Queen's troops were stationed there in the first instance (1846) were not they sent there for the purpose of in some degree allaying the disturbance or excitement which prevailed in the colony in consequence of the half-breeds entering into

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trade in furs?"—"No, I think not especially for that; whenever any excitement takes place, immediately upon that frontier, it extends beyond it; some gentlemen are going in from Canada now, I believe, to endeavor to re open the trade in furs; the first means which they will have recourse to in order to promote that trade will be to get some of those half-breeds with them; the half-breeds will again enlist some of the Indians; that may lead to disturbances upon the frontier which it is very desirable to have security against."

"Was it to guard against any apprehension of that sort that this provision of troops was made?"—"Not on that account, but from the danger which there always is on the frontier from any state of disturbance, from whatever reason, among the Indians."

During 1857-58, when the Canadian exploring parties were working in the Northwest, an expedition under Captain Palliser was sent out by the Imperial Government to explore the country as far west as the Rocky Mountains, and as well, to ascertain the character of the passes through the mountains to British Columbia, and an exhaustive report was presented to the Royal Geographical Society in 1858 by Sir Bulwer Lytton, Colonial Secretary, who was very anxious to have this country opened up to settlers, either under the care of the Canadian Government, or as a Crown Colony, self contained.

Neither of the reports made by these exploring parties refer to any disturbances in the Red River country, but the Canadian report deals extensively with the discontent prevailing amongst the inhabitants of the settlement, on account of the management of public affairs by the Hudson's Bay Co. Both parties received every assistance from the Company in the prosecution of their work.

That the Canadian people had formed an idea as to the Company's object in desiring to have Imperial troops in the Red River settlement, is seen by the evidence given by Mr. McD. Dawson before a committee of the Legislative Assembly of Canada, on the 8th of June, 1857. He said that the troops about to be sent to Red River should not "carry with them the erroneous views which of late years have been with some success imposed upon the public by the assiduous promulgation of the company, or they may unfortunately be placed in a position of antagonism to the civil power. Better that military rule prevailed entirely, for then the officers would know their duties and their responsibilities. If they go under the impression that they are to be subject to the supposed civil officers of a self constituted government which has no legal existence, they may find themselves called upon to enforce behests which are not law, which are infractions of law; they may be called upon to subdue resistance to illegal acts, to which resistance is a duty and a right; and if for acting on these behests they are ultimately brought before the courts of justice, they will find that they have acted under those whose orders will be treated as a nullity, whose civil offices will be held a mockery. This has been so before; it may be so again, if due precaution be not observed."

"If proper civil officers, magistrates, etc., were appointed by his excellency the Governor General, for the Red river country, to whom alone the troops could look in case of emergencies, as vested with authority, the danger and difficulty would be obviated."

He then referred to the case of Lord Selkirk, who applied, in 1816, to the commander the forces in Canada for a military guard for his personal protection against assassination while journeying from Lake Superior to Red River. The commander-in-chief granted a guard of an officer and 12 soldiers, under the express condition that they were in no way to engage in any disputes between Lord Selkirk and his people, and the employes of the Northwest company, with whom Lord Selkirk was at variance. And yet these soldiers became parties to grave offences by being led with Selkirk and his corps of disbanded soldiers from the same regiment to make arrests of people in the service of the Northwest company.

This was a specimen of the feeling that had been aroused in Canada over the negotiations between that Government and the home authorities.

The troops having spent one winter at Fort Garry, we learn in the next letter on file in the Archives Department, the opinion held by the commanding officer, as to the utility of their being stationed there, and the purposes for which the company desired them to be used, while willing to be at the great expense of supplying them with food, and providing for their transport, free of cost, to the Imperial Government.

FORT GARRY, 14th March, 1858.

Major Seton to officer commanding Royal Canadian rifles, Toronto, writes that he should now officially write what he has already privately done.

"The subjects are first, the expediency in a "military point of view of stationing any por-"tion of Her Majesty's troops at this place. "And second (if such a step should be deter-"mined on) the necessity or otherwise of the "presence of a field officer to command the de-"tachment selected for the service.

"The first point necessarily involves consid-"erations of political as well as of a purely "military kind, and which it is very difficult "to separate, for though upon the latter ground "alone, the conclusion appears to me inevit-"able that H.M. troops ought not to be quarter-"ed in this locality, yet the general circumstan-"ces of the country may fairly be taken into

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"account, in estimating the necessity for so an "extreme and inconvenient a measure, if nev-"ertheless and contrary to my anticipations "it should be resolved on.

"The distance and isolation of the spot pre-"sent in themselves difficulties and inconven-"iences, so numerous, so great, and so obvious, "that it would be scarcely necessary, or "even possible to enumerate them all, but "when to these is added the inadequate means "of transport and access possessed by the Hud-"son's Bay Co., either over the route from "York Factory, or that from Canada, and "which have already resulted in an entire fail-"ure on their part to bring up the necessary "clothing and stores for even the small force "that is here, and would, in case of accident "in any of the perilous rapids or portages on "the way, have left us without even ammuni-"tion until the month of August next, it can "hardly be desirable to enter into minute detail "to show that nothing short of the most over-"whelming necessity could justify sending "troops here at all.

"But I am bound to assume that H. M. forces "are not sent to any quarter of the Empire ex-"cept in contemplation of some possible mili-"tary service, in contradistinction to mere "police duty and though there is not the "smallest probability of their being called on "to perform either the one or the other in this "place, that fact does not at all testify as to the "fitness of the station, while on the other hand "it is certain, to the best of my judgment that "if called upon to act as a military force the "troops could not do so with the faintest pro-"spect of efficiency.

"The population contains about 1,200 male "adults, nominally resident on the banks of "the Red River for about 70 miles upward "from its mouth and thinly scattered also "along the banks of the Assiniboine to an ex-"tent of 20 miles. These people, the residents "so called, of the settlement, are in reality "more than one half of them absent at great "distances in the interior nearly the whole year "those that remain behind being the elder "and more civilized portion and addicted for "the most part to useful but peaceful attempts "at husbandry. From neither portion of the in-"habitants has the Hudson's Bay Co., or any "one else, any violence to apprehend.

"The ordinary administration of justice in "small courts, adjusts all differences between "man and man without any attempt, as I am "assured, having ever been made, in the whole "history of the colony, to prevent the execution "of a judgment.

"The Hudson's Bay Co. have long since "abandoned in practice, their pretension of "exclusive trade in this district and far beyond "it; or even if there was any chance of a col-"lision between the natives of the country "and the people of the company in competing "for furs with the Indians, the nearest point "where such a thing could occur is at so great "a distance as to preclude the intervention of "troops, even if it were considered (which I "hardly venture to think would be the case) "that armed interference between rival traders "in the skins of animals were a proper service "for any portion of the British army.

"The United States have no troops nearer "than Fort Ripley (Crow Wing), a distance of "about 400 miles beyond the frontier (and there "only about 130 men) A small force of about "40 men, I am informed, came to the frontier "nearly two years ago to a place called Pem-"bina (a few small cottages) but an encamp-"ment of less than one month's duration at "that place, resulted in their return to Fort "Ripley.

"As regards the second point which I desire "to bring under notice, namely, the necessity "for the presence of a field officer with the "detachment, I have placed before you as "succinctly as I can circumstances that will "enable you to form a judgment which I should "hope would not be very different from my "own. In requesting to be withdrawn I can "sincerely say that I do so not from impatience "of my duty however painful which Her "Majesty's service may impose, but because "I think it due to my superiors and myself to "believe that when these circumstances are "officially made known, and rightly under-"stood, the detachment of the troops now here "will be withdrawn, and that if any repre-"sentations for the necessity of their remain-"ing even for a time, were to prevail, the pre-"sence of a field officer is wholly superfluous "and unnecessary."

I have the to be, sir,
Your most obedinet and humble servant,
GEORGE SETON,
Major R. C. R.

This letter was sent to Horse Guards and War Office.

This epistle from Major Seton was the basis of the remaining letters, which were the last I could find in the archives bearing directly on the subject.

It would seem that the Imperial Government, to some extent, at least, held the views advanced by Mr. Dawson in July, 1857, by the caution given to "the Governor and Council of the Hudson's Bay company as to the necessity of using great discretion in calling on the military for their assistance, and confining such application to cases of actual disturbance of the peace."

WAR OFFICE,
22th Feb., 1858.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord Panmure to request that you will acquaint Mr. Secy. Labouchere that from a report which has recently been received from the officer commanding the detachment of the Canadian Rifles, now stationed in the Red River Settlement, His Lordship has been led to believe that the duties for which a force is required there are not of a character which should be performed by regular troops. This opinion is shared by the General Commanding-in-Chief, who, in a letter of which I am to enclose an extract, has further stated his belief that from the unpopularity of the service the continuance of the detachment at Fort Garry is likely to influence prejudicially the recruiting for the Canadian Rifle Regiment.

It would seem that the principal grounds of disturbances in the Territory arise out of infringements of the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Co., sometimes by Americans, sometimes by Half Breeds, and occasionally, his Lordship understands, by Americans (sic).

Were regular troops to interfere in cases of this kind, and blood be shed, His Lordship conceives that complications might arise which would be difficult to set at rest. His Lordship would therefore suggest for the consideration of Mr. Secretary Labouchere whether armed police under the control of the Hudson's Bay Co., would not be a more appropriate force for such a settlement. His Lordship is of the opinion that about 80 men would probably be sufficient to preserve order and aid the civic power, and he does not doubt that were a proper rate of pay offered, volunteers might be obtained from the constables in Ireland. I have etc.,

(Signed) H. K. STORKS,
H. MERIVALE, ESQ., (Col. Storks, K.C.B.)
Etc., etc.

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While agreeing with Col. Storks, Mr. Merivale, under date of 6th March, 1858, states that it would be unfair to the Hudson's Bay company to withdraw the troops, and calls attention to a request of Sir George Simpson that troops were required on account of "disturbance and discontent" and the "stirring up of the people of the Red "River settlement in opposition to the "civic authorities." "The assent of Lord "Panmure to the measure was therefore "given with full knowledge of the particu-"iar service which was likely to be re-"quired of the detachment." He also says that "as the future government of Red River "is a subject of correspondence between "H. M. Government and that of Canada" he desires no change, but "will, however, "caution the governor and committee of "the Hudson's Bay Company as to the ne-"cessity of using great discretion in calling "on the military for their assistance, and "confining such application to cases of "actual disturbance of the peace."

Extract from letter of Sir Geo. Simpson to Wm. G. Smith, secretary Hudson's Bay company:

LACHINE (Canada) }
5th March, 1858. }

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

"It is unnecessary to say much in refutation of "the conclusion Major Seton has arrived at "that troops were not required at Red river. "That point was settled before they were sent "It will be remembered there was a growing "sympathy in the past of the Red "river half-breeds towards the United "States, the Government of which country, "with evident design, was bringing its "military stations close to the British frontier, "at the same time persons from Canada were "mischievously employed at Red river incit-"ing resistance to the established rule of the "territory, which soon bore fruit, the course of "justice having been resisted by force, while "lives and property were at the mercy of a "semi-barbarous population—these were real, "threatening evils, and did not exist merely in "the imagination of those members of the com-"pany who do not reside in this territory."

It is worth noting that while Sir George Simpson, in 1856, appeared to be so fearful of the presence of United States troops at the frontier (though on two occasions, prior to that date, British troops had been stationed on this side of the international line) nine years later, his successor, Governor Dallas, on receiving a written request from Major Hatch, dated at Pembina, March 4th, 1864, asking for permission to cross the line with his troops, to attack the refugee Sioux Indians, then camped at Poplar Point, sixty miles north of the line, answered immediately, giving full and free permission for the United States soldiers to act on British soil, stipulating only that blood should not be shed in the houses or enclosures of the settlers if the Sioux took refuge in those places. I mention this fact more particularly because it has been denied by some persons that such permission was ever granted. My authority is a copy of each letter, which I possess.

In conclusion, I draw to your notice the reasons given by different persons regarding the necessity for the presence of troops at Fort Garry. On various occasions we find that it was because "United States troops were stationed at the frontier," "discontent and disturbance at Red river," "the stirring up of the people in opposition to the civil authorities," "persons from Canada were mischievously employed at Red River inciting resistance to the established rule of the territories." "Necessity for the protection of the lives and property of the company's servants and the settlers," "an invasion from Canada of fur traders," "disputes between the Americans and Indians," and "disturbances arising out of the infringements of the company's monopoly."

A review of the correspondence, and the evidence given before the select committee in London, together with an acquaintance of the steps taken by the Canadian government, impresses me with the idea, that Sir George Simpson fearing an influx of settlers from Canada following the exploring parties sent out, and of an immigration from Minnesota, seized on the pretext that a small reconnoitering party of American troops had, for the first time, visited the frontier, made a requisition for British troops to support the rule of the Council of Assiniboia (which was the creation of the company) against all comers.

As negotiations were pending between the Imperial Government and that of Canada regarding the future possession and government of the country west of Lake Superior, the company found considerable difficulty in inducing the Imperial authorities to send out the troops to Fort Garry; but at last the application was so cleverly made, with references to American designs and the likelihood of an Indian war with a general massacre of the white population, together with an offer to provide transport and sustenance for the force, free of all cost to the Government, they consented, and the troops went out.

The population of Assiniboia had got beyond the control of the company, and the presence of troops was necessary to keep them within bounds until the company, if finally compelled to hand over the country to Canada, could attain a substantial award for their claimed rights under the charter of 1670.

A perusal of the documents published in connection with the transfer, and Ontario boundary disputes, will, I think, convince people that the company saw that the "day and hour had arrived" when they must give up possession, at least of the best agricul-

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tural districts, of the Northwest, and it had become after 1857 simply a question with them of securing a good bargain. No person can blame the Governor and council for doing the best possible in the interests of the shareholders.

There is no doubt but that there was a strong feeling among some of the Red river settlers, in favor of annexation to the United States, as being their only hope of escaping from the rule of the company, as witness the petition of 1864 mentioned above.

Later, in 1861, at the time of the Trent affair, when a war seemed possible, and even probable, between Great Britain and the United States, it is within my own knowledge, from official documentary evidence, that a proposal was made to the American Government, by a then prominent citizen of St. Paul, Minn., to send, in the event of war, a force of 1,000 Minnesota troops to Fort Garry, to secure possession to the whole of British North America west of Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains which, of course, under the circumstances, would have been a perfectly legitimate act. Accompanying this proposal was a detailed statement concerning the route to be taken by the troops, with a full description of the country and its population, resources and future prospects, while the indifference of the British authorities to the complaints of the Assiniboia settlers was dwelt on as a reason why the inhabitants, "French, American and Metis," would welcome annexation.

Influential men in Minnesota were fully of the opinion that a change was about to occur in the Governmental system of Assiniboia. They knew it was to be either for Canada or the United States, and they hoped it was for the latter, and were fully prepared to take advantage of any opportunity occurring to seize on what is now the Canadian Northwest.

The Hudson's Bay Company, as a fur trading corporation, had made a fatal error in first placing settlers on the Red river, and after the retirement of Lord Selkirk, they endeavored to isolate the settlement as far as was possible, but the flood of emigration into Minnesota from 1850 to 1870 rendered this impossible, even without the action taken by the Canadian Government in seeking to obtain possession of the country. The settlers, virtually without a market, contrasted their position with that of their fellows who had abandoned the colony and gone to Canada, and with the new settlers in Minnesota; so that only time was necessary to ripen a movement that would end all control held over them by a close corporation like the Hudson's Bay company.

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HENRY'S JOURNAL,

COVERING

ADVENTURES AND EXPERIENCES

IN THE

FUR TRADE ON THE RED RIVER,

1799--1801.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, MAY 4, 1888.

BY

CHARLES N. BELL, F.R.G.S.,

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY,

HON. FELLOW ROYAL SCOTTISH GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, HONORARY CORRESPONDING MEMBER MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, CHICAGO ACADEMY OF SCIENCE.

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HENRY'S JOURNAL.

Experiences of a Visit to the Red River in 1800 by Alexander Henry.

An Interesting Paper read by Mr. Bell before the Historical Society.

A meeting of the Historical Society was held Friday evg. with the Hon. Gilbert McMicken in the chair. The following paper was read by Mr. C. N. Bell, the 1st Vice-President of the Society:

Deposited in the Library of Parliament at Ottawa is a manuscript entitled "Journal of Alexander Henry to Lake Superior, Red River, Assiniboine, Rocky Mountains, Columbia and the Pacific, 1799 to 1811, to establish the fur trade." The journal is included in two large volumns, covering some 1,600 pages of foolscap, and an introductionary note gives the information that Henry was the nephew of the celebrated Alexander Henry, who travelled through the Indian Territories in 1760 to 1776, and also published his interesting narrative, dedicated to Sir Joseph Banks, the great naturalist. This note is signed by one Geo. Coventry, who re-wrote the journal from Henry's papers. He explains that Henry, to amuse himself in this solitary region, first made the memoranda, and later on, the writing afforded him a pleasing recreation, which was continued up to the date of his death. In Harmon's journal will be found an item, dated on October 18th, 1814, concerning the news he had just received of the death, by drowning in the Columbia River, near St. George, of Alexander Henry and D. McTavish, on the 22nd of May, in going out in a boat from Ft. George to a vessel called the Isaac Tod, which lay at anchor without the bar at the mouth of the Columbia. I have also the original journal of John Macdonald (which has never been published), who left Henry in charge of Ft. George in April before the accident occurred, and who had been the Northwest Company's officer in charge of the Isaac Tod, in so far as the mercantile interests were concerned, on the voyage out from London via Cape Horn. In this journal I find several references to Henry being at Ft. George, and also a statement regarding his death by drowning.

I have limited this paper to covering Henry's notes from July, 1800, to June, 1801, in the hope of being enabled later on to add more papers on the subject to the Society's collection.

Alexander Henry, who had been engaged in trading with theSaulteaux from the year 1792, appears to have spent his first season in the Northwest (in 1799-1800) at a winter post of the Northwest Company situated near the foot of Fort Dauphin Mountain, west of Lake Manitoba, leaving there for Grand Portage, the annual gathering place at Lake Superior. In the latter part of July, 1800, he started on his return to the Red River. At this time Grand Portage was still the headquarters of the Northwest Co. in the west. The place was abandoned in 1803, as it was situated south of the Pigeon River, within the bounds of the United States, the new fort being established at the mouth of the Kaministiquia River, with the name of Fort William, being called so after Wm. McGillivray, the chief partner of the Northwest Co.

From Grand Portage there was a portage of nine miles to Ft. Charlotte, the route from there leading through the network of lakes and streams to Rainy river, thence via the Rainy river, Lake of the Woods and Winnipeg river to Lake Winnipeg, where the brigades of boats took their departure for the several districts on the Red river, the Saskatchewan, Athabasca and elsewhere.

Henry, on the Rainy river, found old establishments of the H. B. Co., at the Long Sault and below the entrance of the Rapid river. At the mouth of the Winnipeg river also the H. B. Co. had a post, near to Fort a la bas de la Riviere of the N. W. Co. The remains of an old N. W. Co. establishment still existed at the Portage d' Isle on the Winnipeg river.

On the 16th of August Henry arrived at the "Grand Marais" on Lake Winnipeg and found the dead bodies of grasshoppers piled upon the shore to a depth of nine inches. He describes a stream entering at the south end of the lake under the name of Catfish River.

Passing up the central channel of the Red River delta, which was the one always used by the traders, the River of Death (Nettley Creek) was reached, and soon after, flowing in from the east side, "Riviere Qui de Boule," which rises, like the Catfish, in the Cypress Hills east of the Red River, and near the mouth of this stream was an island. Describing the "Sault la Biche," (St. Andrews Rapids), Henry writes, "at this spot (at the head of the rapids) where there is a beautiful plain upon the west shore, which is more elevated than that of the east, formerly the Crees and Assiniboines were accustomed to assemble in large camps to wait the arrival of the traders." Pelicans were num-

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J. T. C. C. Willingham
Rec. Jan. 23, 1927

erous in the rapids, while fish in shoals frequented the spot, the varieties mentioned being sturgeon, catfish, pike, goldeye, &c. Moose, red deer, bears, wolves and foxes also abounded. Truly a sportsman's paradise.

Continuing up the river, "passed Frog Pond, which lays upon the west side (at Kildonan church) and soon after the Riviere la Seine," and arrived at "the Forks," (Red and Assiniboine rivers) on the 18th August, to find forty Saulteau Indians awaiting his arrival, and soon he procured dried buffalo meat in exchange for liquor. Here the trading goods were divided, part being for Portage la Prairie and part for the Red river posts. Five boats of the Hudson's Bay Company's people from Albany river on Hudson's Bay, with Robt. Goodwin, master, in charge, passed up the Assiniboine, and while the transportation of the Hudson's Bay Company's goods was effected by means of birch bark canoes, the Hudson's Bay Company used "boats which carry 45 packages of 80 pounds each, are four-oared, with a steersman, and are neatly built, painted and sharp at both ends."

The men caught plenty of fish with hooks and lines. "Pigeons are also in great numbers here, the trees are every moment covered with them." Henry makes a most interesting statement regarding traces of the early French occupation on the north bank of the Assiniboine. "Upon this spot in the time of the French there was a trading establishment traces of which are still to be seen (where?) their chimneys and cellars stood. I am also informed that there was, at the same time, a chapel and missionary here for several years, but I don't believe they ever made much progress towards civilizing the nations. * * * We are much troubled by swarms of the common water snake. They even come into our tents at midday, and every morning we are sure to find some of them upon our beds, but they are harmless and appear to live and breed in the old graves, of which there is an uncommon number upon this spot, it having been a place of great resort for the nations many years ago. In 1781-2, and at the time the small-pox made such havoc in this country, many hundreds of men, women and children died and were buried here." There is no doubt in my mind but that Henry refers to Fort Rouge, and as he is very definite in stating it was "on this spot" where he was encamped, and as he continually refers to being on the north bank of the Assiniboine, this very clear statement seems to point out that the site of Fort Rouge was north of the Assiniboine, and not south of it, as is the common impression, created by its so appearing on some of the old maps, which were very imperfect as to detail. Even as late as 1870, when I arrived at Fort Garry, the thicket of willows and brambles which stretched along what is now the east side of Main street, from near the entrance of Graham St. south to York St., covered the site of an extensive Indian grave yard, and was evidently the locality mentioned by Henry as the resort of the watersnakes. While in camp at the Forks Henry was visited by a few Indians on horseback who came from towards Portage la Prairie, (the trail was on the north of the Assiniboine). They were "of the tribe called the Snakes, who formerly inhabited the Lake of the Woods. They once were numerous, but at present cannot muster more than fifty men. They may be said to be of the same nation as the Crees, but have a different dialect, something resembling the Saulteau language. They are a mischievous and thieving set of scoundrels, and now inhabit a tract of land upon the Assiniboine river, about 50 leagues west from this place, and indeed some of them are to be found almost all over the country where there is Saulteaux and Crees. I purchased a horse from them for a nine gallon keg mixed rum, and one of my people bought another for the same price. These were the first and only two horses we had belonging to the Red River, the Saulteaux had none, but always used canoes." August 20th, Jno. McDonell, a proprietor of the N. W. Co., with 9 canoes and 3 boats, camped at The Forks en route to Qu'Appelle, and some boats and canoes of the X. Y. Co. passed up the Assiniboine on the same day.

The Saulteaux with Henry, at the Forks, had left Leech Lake at the headwaters of the Mississippi since 1790. "They were certainly in a great state of alarm when we arrived, and had even made a sort of intrenchment by digging deep holes in the ground, of several yards in length, for the security of their women and children, and for themselves."

During the Northwest rebellion of 1885 the Metis constructed an elaborate system of rifle pits, and it was supposed their leaders had been studying regular modern military tactics, but it is most probable that, from time immemorial, this method of constructing shelter trenches had been practiced by their Indian forefathers.

Leaving the Forks, Henry and his party (which consisted of one clerk, one interpreter, eighteen workingmen, four women and four children) proceeded up the Red River. At the Salle River he notes that the heavy brush, between that stream and the Assiniboine, was a favorite resort of the buffalo during the winter season. On the 22nd Aug., at Crooked Rapids, they found a great plenty of fruit, such as red plums, paubians (pembina berries) and grapes. "The plums are just now ripe and very good. They appear to be of three different sorts—the large yellow speckled, large red and the small red. The Paubian is of a beautiful red, fine and large, but require the frost to bring them to maturity. The same with the grapes, which are of a small sort, and when ripe perfectly blue. Vines are bending to the ground with them." At the entrance of

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the Rat River they observed the remains of some old buildings where Chaboiller had wintered 1796-7. A few years prior to this date beaver were in plenty on the upper part of Rat river but were nearly all destroyed. At "Salt Point," above the Rat river. and on the west side of the Red, salt water issued from the bank only a few yards from the river. It is probable that this salt spring is now in the bed of the river, as the annual floods wear away the bank at a rapid rate. Another description of a salt spring is interesting. "Below the Riviere aux Gratia (Scratching river, at Morris,) we passed the great salt pit on the west side of the river. It lays about 100 paces from the water, at the edge of the plain, where it issues out of the ground, forming a small basin, the centre of which appears continually agitated, and to be tumbling up like a pot of boiling water. This, I am told, is an excellent place for making salt at all seasons of the year, as the water never freezes in the middle of the winter, but the process is slow and tedious and requires a large number of kettles to make any quantity, nine gallons of water producing not more than one pint of salt, which is fine and white, almost resembling basket salt having no grain nor coarse substance."

Vast numbers of Buffalo were seen feeding on the plains about the Scratching River; the willows were beaten down and the bark rubbed from the trees by the animals. The Scratching River, Henry notes, takes its rise in the Hair Hills (Pembina Mountains), under the name of the Riviere aux Islette de Bois, and is divided into three branches before losing itself in a swamp, whence it issues in two streams for 25 miles before coming together.

So plentiful was game along the Red River in this locality that during a morning hunt, while the party paddled up with the canoes, some "few Indians had killed 8 fat cow buffaloes, 3 red deer, and 4 bears near the river bank."

"The Plumb River takes its rise in the Hair Hills in a marsh a little south of the Buffalo Head, from whence running a course passes down the hills and through the level meadows, but in the last place it has no wood upon its banks, excepting at one place where grows a few stunted willows and a chance elm tree. This spot is called the Buffalo's Tent, and is situated halfway between the Hills and the Red River."

Henry is very particular to note every geographical feature of the country, the journal having many items of interest, such as, "a little river runs into the Red on the west side, about a mile below the Rosseau, called the Riviere aux Marais." He says that Rosseau Lake contained plenty of fish, that animals abounded there, and that the French used to go by that route from the Lake of the Woods to the posts on the Assiniboia. His many references to the early French traders proves that information regarding them was then easily procurable in the country. The Indians (Saulteaux) had an alarm at Marais, and Henry writes "I went over to see their trenches. There were three principal ones, about twenty feet long, five feet wide and four feet deep. These were intended for the men to defend themselves in, whilst the women and children would lie close on the bottom. I was surprised to see how expeditious they were, having neither hoes nor spades, they made use of their axes to cut the earth, and both women and children with their hands threw it into kettles, and others into blankets, and toss it up. The Indian women and children lay in the trenches all night, the men in their cabins, (bark tents?)."

Each day a great number of goldeyes, catfish and sturgeon were taken. On the 4th September Henry left Michael Langlois and fifteen persons at the Rosseau river to erect a winter-post; three of the men were afterwards to go to the Hair Hills to trade with the Snakes and Crees. The Saulteaux were dreadfully afraid of the Sioux whose war trail, at that season, extended up to the Hair Hills.

Nine miles above the Marais they camped at the Eagles Nest, and the next day "we came to the Paubian river (Pembina), and crossed over to the old fort which was built (1797-8) by Mr. Chabollier, opposite to the entrance of the river. On the east side of the Red river is the remains of an old fort, built by Mr. Peter Grant some years ago, and was the first establishment ever built on the Red River." The Pembina river is described as taking its rise in the Rib-bone lakes, or Lac du Pla Cotte, and along its course through the prairies its banks "are well lined with large wood, even until its junction with the Red river." Even now there is a fair sprinkling of wood along the Pembina, but evidently in Henry's day the prairie fires had not destroyed so much of it as they have since done. Red deer were very numerous in the woods along the Pembina river, and a short distance above its mouth four otters and three beavers were killed by the party on the bank of the Red.

Pushing on up the Red river, they found the best "salt pit" on the river near the Two rivers. where "the plain comes down to the water and forms an open communication with that of the west side. It is from this circumstance that this spot derives its name of the Bois Perce." Buffaloes and bears were seen at every bend of the river, at one place seven bears were seen to be drinking at the river at the same time.

On the 8th September the party arrived at the Park River, and Henry gives the following particulars: "I went out in search of a proper place to build. I found none so well situated for defence, and wood at hand, as a point of wood on the west side within about a quarter of a mile from the entrance of the little river, a beautiful level plain which divided us

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from the river. I should have proposed building at the entrance of the river, but there was no wood on the one side and the land too low on the other." Canoes were unloaded, the lines of the fort marked out and meat stages erected. Game of all kinds abounded, animals resorting to the river to drink close to the camp. The Park River here was quite saline. "The Park River, near which we are settled, derives its name from the circumstance of the Assiniboines having formerly made a park or pound on this river for buffaloes." The water in the river some distance up was good and pure, but a "salt pit" drained into it and contaminated the water.

All hands were soon employed in erecting the buildings, which were made of oak logs and thatched with hay. In one day's time a storehouse was first built. Next in order was the erection of the stockades to enclose the buildings, as fears were entertained that the Sioux would attack them, and Henry writes that, with one or two exceptions his men were cowardly and very much afraid of the Indians, so that "fear was an excellent overseer, and the work went on with expedition." The stockades, which were obtained from a grove 200 yards distant, were of oak logs about twelve feet long. In a week the stockades were up and the gates hung. "We are now in a proper state to defend ourselves and might bid defiance to several hundred Sioux." On Sunday the 21st Sept. "Early this morning the men began to cut down trees to build our dwelling houses. It was their own option to work this day or not, but their excuse is that necessity obliges them to get forward their work as fast as possible, to get under cover before the cold weather commences." It is thus seen that Sunday was respected by the traders in the wilds. Quantities of bear's fat was spoiling because the Indian women were too lazy to melt it. It does not keep unless melted, but when rendered it keeps sweet for a long time. A good deal of mixed liquor was dealt out as gifts to the Indians. The tops of the oak trees in the thickets were broken and torn down by the bears in the vicinity of the fort, the animals being in such great numbers as to cause much surprise to the whole party. When completed the fort had stockaded bastions at the corners about nine feet from the ground.

"On digging a hole, in hopes of finding clay, at eight feet depth we found the carcass of a buffalo which lay about forty feet from the level of the river on a bank covered with oak."

The Indians would cut at the gates with their axes during the night when they wanted to get in for liquor for a "drinking match," as they (the Saulteaux) were not accustomed to having traders erect stockades about their buildings. "It is but of late years that they have seen anything of the kind, and the fellows having been from their infancy accustomed to have full liberty of going in and out of the houses day and night, and being naturally of a haughty, imperious disposition, they cannot bear to be obliged to knock at the gate door that does not open at their demand." Racoons, fishers, and foxes were trapped near the fort. On the 8th October Henry left on a tour of inspection and found a fort had been erected by his men at the mouth of the Rosseau, and a wintering hut at the foot of the Hair Hills. On his return to Park River Fort an Indian presented Henry with "an elegant drum trimmed with all the ceremonies of the Wabano medicine, and a number of different medicines." The Indian expected liquor in return, but Henry would not give any, and remarks, "Gratitude they have none, treat them ever so well and satisfy every demand for a long time, then refuse them but one glass of liquor and all the past obligations are forgotten in an instant, and these persons are your greatest enemies." Henry then set out for a trip up the Red River to Red Lake, and when there was told by an Indian "he knew of no person who had horses in that part of the country." The Saulteau Indians used canoes altogether in travelling. Their summer tents were made of birch bard and were replaced during the winter season by structures made of woven rush mats.

The wolves were very bold and noisy. They did not seem to be hungry and passed by carcasses of animals without eating. "The Canadians swear they are mad wolves, and are very much afraid of them."

Knowing the destructiveness of the prairie field mice, we can easily imagine that they "destroyed dry goods and even carried off glass beads."

November 8th Henry and an Indian started up the Red River to Grand Forks, equipped with a few pairs of shoes, one gallon of high wines and a fathom of tobacco, in case they met Indians. At Grand Forks they saw the traces of a large camp of Sioux who had been there on the war path, and Henry notes that this was a great resort for the Sioux, as there was plenty of game and fish, "and sturgeon winter in the deep water at the junction of the two rivers." Before returning to Park Fort Henry visited the Folle Avoine river and the Otter Tail lake, and writes of the Traverse, Pelican, Cedar and Whitewood lakes, and the "Strong Woods."

At Park Fort, on the 13th Nov., Henry was informed by Indians from Red Lake that J. B. Cadotte was making the Red Lake Portage and would winter there. The men made two kegs of good salt at the "pit" on the Park River.

Hearing that the post at the Hair Hills was in danger from an attack by the Crees and Assiniboines, who were gathering there to send a war party to attack the Sioux, Henry left for the Rosseau and went on to the Hair Hills post (at Pembina Mountain), where he found the war

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party had decided to wait for the next spring.

Men arrived with dog trains from Portage la Prairie via Rosseau and the Hair Hills. Mr. Chabollier was in charge at the Portage. One of the men at the fort found a wolf in a trap he had set in a hollow stump, and under it a badger and under that a skunk, all of which he killed, and the Indians at once predicted a great misfortune from this, either to the hunter or to the fort, and were quite certain the Sioux would destroy all the people.

It would appear that the grizzly bear at one time ranged as far east as the Red River, for Henry particularly notes that the grizzly and black bears "take up their winter residence on the banks of the Red River, and generally take to the hollow trees," while those in the Hair Hills resorted to holes in the ground.

"White buffalo are very scarce. They are of inestimable value amongst the nations of the Missouris, but of no consequence at this river, none amongst the Crees and Assiniboines, further than to traffic with the above nations." On Dec. 21st Henry sent a stallion and a mare to Red Lake, to Mr. Cadotte, who forwarded them to Mr. Grant at Rainy Lake, and it is most probable that these were the first horses kept at Rainy Lake. Following the custom of the country at that time, "The Indians are very officious in wishing to provide me a wife, but my inclination does not agree with theirs in the least."

New Year day 1801, was ushered in by the men firing volleys with their guns, which so alarmed the Indians that they rushed to the fort, after secreting their women and children. A liberal allowance or grog was dealt out, and soon every man, woman and child was drunk.

A very interesting description is given of an Indian, who was an oddity. "Berdash, a son of the Surcie, arrived from the Assiniboine, where he had been with a young man to carry tobacco concerning the war. This person is a curious compound between a man and woman. He is a man in every respect as to members and courage, but still he appears to be womanish and dresses as such. His walk and manner in sitting down, his manners and occupation, and language, are that of a woman, and all the persuasions of his father, who is a great chief among the Saulteaux, cannot persuade him to act like a man. About a month ago in a drinking match, he got into a quarrel and had one of his eyes knocked out with a club. He is very quarrelsome when drunk. He is very fleet, and a few years ago was reckoned the most fleet runner amongst all the Saulteaux. An instance of both that and his courage was fully put to the test some years ago, on the banks of the Sheyenne river, when Moneur Reaume attempted to make peace between those two nations. He accompanied a party of Saulteaux to the Sioux camp. They at first appeared reconciled to each other through the intercession of the white people, but on the return of the Saulteaux the Sioux pursued them immediately on their leaving camp. Both parties were on foot, but the Sioux have the name of being extraordinary swift. The Saulteaux very imprudently dispersed themselves in the open plain and several of them were killed, but the party in which Berdash was all escaped without any accident, in the following manner: One of them had a bow which he had got from the Sioux, but only a few arrows; on their first starting, and finding they were pursued, they ran a considerable distance until they perceived the Sioux were gaining fast upon them, when Berdash took the bow and arrows from his comrades and told them to run as fast as possible and not to mind him, as he apprehended no danger. He then stopped and turned about and faced the enemy and began to let fly the arrows at them. This checked their course and they returned the compliment with interest, but he says it was nothing but only long shots, and only a chance arrow could have hurt him, as they had nearly lost their strength when they fell near him. His own stock was soon expended but he lost no time in gathering up those of the enemy that fell near him, thus he had a continued supply. Seeing his friends at some distance ahead and the Sioux moving to surround him, he turned about and ran full speed to join his comrades, and the Sioux after him. Soon after, the latter again approached them very fast, when Berdash again stopped and faced them with his bow and arrows and kept them at bay until his friends got a considerable distance, when he again ran off to join them, and the enemy after him. And thus did he continue to manoeuvre and keep them at bay until they came to a spot of strong wood into which they entered, when the Sioux dare not approach them and returned back to their camp. Some of the Saulteaux who were present at the time, have often recounted the affair to me."

Henry writes of the partiality of the female wolves for the traders' dogs, and that they enticed the dogs out of the fort. In January, Hamel, the man in charge of the Hair Hills post, was plundered of all his goods at the Bulls Head by the Sonnants. "My men having little to do, they therefore amuse themselves by sliding down the bank on sleighs, from the south gate. The descent is so great as to cause their trains to run to the opposite side of river. The Indian women join with them and they have excellent sport." So we find that toboggan slides on the Red river are nothing new.

"Delightful weather for the Indian women to play their favorite game of coullion upon the ice. They generally keep it up to dark, whilst the men are always employed at their favorite game of platter, and others beating the drum to keep chorus with their wabano songs."

About the end of March sugar-making

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was in full operation at Red Lake, where a large quantity of maple sugar was made. "My men are now employed in making soap for themselves with tallow, and when a certain kind of salt is added, it makes excellent soap, hard and dry." Bald eagles were seen all winter and early in March the raccoons began to come out, and buffalo were in plenty. On March 12th geese and swans were seen, and the ice on the river began to break. "The small bastard maple trees begin to run. The sap of this tree makes a fine white sugar, but it is not so sweet as that of the roal maple, and requires a greater amount of sap. There is also to be found, in this part of the Red River, abundance of 'Bois tors,' a short shrub that winds up the stocks of larger trees. The wood is soft and spongy with a thick bark. The latter is often made use of by the natives as a substitute for provision in the time of famine. There are two species of this shrub; the one grows much thicker than the other and is of a very sweet taste, but of too astringent a nature. The smaller is of a more insipid taste and less pernicious to the constitution. They cut it into pieces and boil it a long time in water, when the bark is peeled off and eaten without any further ceremony. I have often subsisted on this bark, for many days, but always found my weakness increased upon me."

Chabollier and John Cameron arrived with the winter express, for Grand Portage. The express left Athabasca on the 1st January, and, at least on this occasion, went via Red Lake and Rainy River.

Henry states that it was a common disease with their dogs to have a swelling in their necks and die before ten day's time. On the 1st April the river was clear of ice, and for days the carcasses of buffalo, often in whole herds, went floating past. "It really is astonishing what quantities must have perished, as they formed one continued line in the middle of the river for the part of two days and nights. One of my men found an entire herd of buffalo that had fallen through the ice in the Park River, and all drowned. They were still sticking in the ice." Again, after a month's interval he writes: "Buffalo still drifting down stream. It is most intolerable the stench arising from the vast numbers of drowned buffalos that lay along the banks of the river in every direction, above and below, and of which we can see no end. They tell me it passes all imagination the great numbers of buffalo that are lying along the beach, and on the banks above. I am informed that almost every spring it is the same, but not always in such immense numbers as this."

For some reason, not clearly made known, it was decided to abandon the Park River Fort on the 4th May, and very interesting information is afforded us by the following entry in the journal, under date of May 17th. "I went up to the Paubian River (from Rosseau) on horseback, to find a proper spot for building. I got there at twelve o'clock, crossed over the Red river (to the east side) with Desmarais, and planted my potatoes, (30 small potatoes had been obtained at Portage la Prairie) and sowed a few garden seeds on the spot where Mr. Grant's fort stood. We came back, and after examining the ground, we pitched on the north side of the Paubian river on the point of land between that and the Red river, about one hundred paces from each. The ground was so encumbered with fallen trees of very large size, and the underwood so intricate, that we could not see ten yards before us, however, I drew out the the place as soon as possible. Between this spot and the plain on the west are great numbers of fine large oak trees, very proper for building, and on the north side between this and a small rivulet, there are plenty of fine large whitewood proper for flooring and covering, the stockades must be hauled from some distance below where there are fine patches of poplar. This being settled, I remained here for the night and slept in the old fort on the south side." This old fort was inhabited by Charles Chaboillez (written by Henry, Chabollier), in 1797-8, when he was visited by David Thompson, the astronomer of the Northwest Co. The town of Pembina, Dak., now covers the sites of these two forts, and the woods, with the exception of a few trees, have long since disappeared.

"Early on the 18th (May) we returned to the Roseau river and found the Indians were busy employed in making the grand medicine, a ceremony performed every spring, when they all meet, and when there is always some novice to be admitted into the mysteries of that great and solemn affair. On this occasion two young men, a woman and Mons. Langloi's girl were recived. There are many curious circumstances concerning the admittance of women into this great mystery of mysteries." The next day the post at Rosseau was abandoned, and the people embarked for the Paubiau river, where, for the summer, the following appointments were made: M. Langlois, principal Indian trader; Desmarais, in charge of the garden, horses, fishing, &c.; Le Diec, conductor of the work: with Rainville, Dubard, Hamel, Poulivette and Le Boeuf, to hunt. Henry then left with his canoes for The Forks, en route to Grand Portage, Lake Superior, to the annual gathering of the Northwest Coy's people. On arriving at The Forks, (now the city of Winnipeg), he made the following entry in his journal: "No news from the Assiniboine River, only that they are starving at Portage la Prairie and exist only on Esquebois, a root about the thickness and length of a man's finger, and may be termed the wild potato of this country. It has a thin skin of a yellowish color, the inside perfectly white, and when boiled is tolerable good eating. They

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are also eaten in their raw state but are then of a windy nature, and some times cause a severe colic, which is not easy to relieve. I have known people to suffer very much after eating a moderate quantity. We take plenty of sturgeon, cat fish, lackaishe (gold-eyes), and other kinds peculiar to this river." Two days after he makes an entry which may be considered as closing his journal for that "trade year." He writes, "I set off on horseback for Portage la Prairie, where I arrived at dusk and found all hands actually starving and not a mouthful to eat. I remained here until the first of June, when we embarked for the Grand Portage, in a light canoe, with eight men."

Henry's further experiences on the Red and Saskatchewan rivers and the Pacific Coast, of which I possess notes, must form the subject for papers at a future time.

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TRANSACTION No. 33.—SEASON 1888-9.

Original Letters and other Documents

RELATING TO THE

SELKIRK SETTLEMENT,

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY JANUARY 17th, 1889,

BY

REV. DR. BRYCE AND C. N. BELL,

WINNIPEG:
MANITOBA FREE PRESS PRINT.
1889.

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PAGES FROM THE PAST.

Some Letters of Lord Selkirk hitherto unpublished, and some of the Early Laws of the Settlement.

The Historical Society had a night with Earl Selkirk, the founder of the Red River settlement on January 17th, 1889. It was a special meeting of the society, and it was held in the committee room of the city hall. Judge Ardagh presided, and C. N. Bell, 1st vice-president, A. Bowerman, Consul Taylor, Rev. Dr. Bryce, Rev. A. B. Baird, J. W. Anderson, W. G. Fonseca, and others were present.

The object of the meeting was to hear a number of original, and hitherto unpublished letters and documents relating to the early settlement of this country which have been collected by Rev. Dr. Bryce and Chas. N. Bell.

Read by Dr. Bryce.

LORD SELKIRK'S FIRST COLONIZATION SCHEME.

Among copies of the Selkirk letters read by Dr. Bryce were some which bear the date of 1802. Among these was one entitled "A proposal tending to the permanent security of Ireland in a memorial addressed to His Majesty's Secretary of State by the Earl Selkirk." His idea in this letter is substantially that the more turbulent and restless characters in the disturbed districts in Ireland should be encouraged to emigrate to some part of America, not specified, where their religious and national prejudices would not be interfered with. The places in Ireland vacated by the removal of these colonists should be filled by English and Scotch Protestants. In this memorial he made no mention of the places where he proposed to found a colony, but in a supplementary memorial to the Secretary of State, dated in the same year, he says :—

"The memorialist, in stating his plan for a colony of Irish Catholics in America, confined himself to the points of essential consideration and postponed, as a secondary question, any notice of the situation that may be proposed. This part of the subject, it must be admitted, is not altogether without difficulty, as no large tract remains unoccupied on the coast of British America except barren and frozen deserts. To find a sufficient extent of good soil in a temperate climate, we must go far inland. This inconvenience, however, is not an insurmountable obstacle to the prosperity of a colony and appears to be amply compensated by other advantages that are to be found in some remote parts of the British territory. At the western extremity of Canada, upon the waters which fall into lake Winnipeg, and meeting in the great river of Fort Nelson, discharge themselves into Hudson bay, is a country which the Indians and traders represent as fertile and of a climate far more temperate than the shores of the Atlantic under the same parallel and not more severe than that of Germany or Poland. Here, therefore, the colonists may with a moderate exertion of industry, be certain of a comfortable subsistence, and they may also raise some valuable objects for exportation. The soil and climate are similar to those of the Russian provinces, which supply most of Europe with hemp, and on which, after the experience of the late war, this kingdom cannot with prudence rely. Some of the British traders have extended their discoveries into a climate which appears well adapted even for the vine, the successful cultivation of which would save immense sums that go every year from this kingdom into the hands of its enemies. To a colony in these territories the channel of trade must be the river of Port Nelson, which from the lake to its discharge is between 300 or 400 miles and a navigation interrupted by considerable obstructions, these, however, may probably be remedied. If any concurrance of circumstances should lead to the organization of territory on the Upper Mississippi, a communication might be opened from thence to the same port as the heads of that river interlock with the waters of Lake Winnipeg, in a level country where there would be little difficulty in connecting them. From the length of this inland navigation the expense of carriage will probably be too great for the export of corn, while the markets of Europe remain at a moderate rate. This, however, may have its advantages as it will turn the attention of the colonials to articles of greater value in proportion to their weight and of those none seem more promising than hemp which has been neglected in the Maritime Colonies chiefly, perhaps, because the sure ready market for grain has encouraged the inhabitants to continue the ample culture to which they had of old been accustomed. The greatest impediment to a colony in this quarter seems to be the Hudson Bay monopoly which the possessors cannot be expected easily to relinquish. They may however, be amply indemnified for its abolition without any burden, perhaps, even with advantage to the revenue.

A GREAT WINTER JOURNEY.

Dr. Bryce also read a letter from Francis Talbot, ex-mayor of Wabasha, Minnesota. He enclosed the copy of a letter from Earl Selkirk, dated Fort William, Feb. 21st,

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1817. The original of the letter, which was recently destroyed by fire, belonged to Mr. David Cratte, of Wabasha, grandson of Captain Duncan Graham. The letter is one of instructions to Capt. Graham. Mr. Talbot also enclosed a sketch of a trip made by the late Mr. Alexis Bailey, of Wabasha, from Montreal to Fort William in 1818 with despatches from Lady Selkirk to her husband. The account stated that "When Mr. Alexis Bailey was about 19 years of age, and while attending school at Montreal, Lady Selkirk fearing some conspiracy was brewing by which the life of the earl was in danger, sought in vain for some days the means of communicating with her husband. A thousand miles in winter was a formidable journey which no one seemed willing to attempt. The gallant heart of the youth offered his services to the lady * * and she gave him carte blanche." The account goes on to say that Bailey reached the Earl, who complimented him on his bravery, and after fitting him out for his return journey he entrusted him, not only with letters to Lady Selkirk, but with other important documents. "On the return trip a beclouded sun for some days brought affliction and almost disaster to the party. The long detour from the right path of their journey almost exhausted their provisions, and for eight days their only satisfaction was out of the little sack of parched corn. The Frenchmen were determined to kill and eat the dogs, and it was only from the fact that Mr. Bailey, youth as he was, resisted sound sleep and with pistol in hand watched, not the dogs, but the voyageurs." Finally they ran across a trapper and secured sufficient venison from him to supply them with food. Thus supplied, he led his train in safety back to the metropolis to be received by Lady Selkirk, not only with verbal expressions of a gratified heart, but with a kiss of joyful approval. The letter stated that Mr. Bailey was an old friend of Gen. Sibley, Com. Kittson and others. Consul Taylor, who was present, said he knew Bailey very well.

Read by C. N. Bell.

BLUE LAWS OF THE SETTLEMENT.

Mr. Bell read a list of rules, drawn up by the H. B. Co. in the handwriting of Thos. Simpson, the explorer, for the guidance of the settlers. Its date is probably 1830. Some of the laws are slightly stringent and others very humorous, at least viewed from the present. Quotations are made as follows:

Several instances have occurred within the last season of tripmen and others forming engagments with different individuals at the same time. Such fraudulent conduct will in future be punished in the most severe manner.

Great mischief arises to the young timber and to the crops from the improper practices of allowing unringed pigs to roam at large. It is therefore directed that every individual finding these animals trespassing on his lands do seize the same for his own benefit; and the constables are further empowered and ordered to seize all unringed pigs which they may find straying in any part of the Settlement for their own use as a perquisite of office.

Another highly improper practice is that of catching horses belonging to other people and riding or driving them to a distance, which if continued must be severely punished. Many settlers have been robbed of their horses by Indians; this arises in a great measure from their own cowardice, every man being equally justified in pursuing and firing upon a horse-thief as upon robbers entering his house by force.

For the better observance of the Sabbath be it notified that no loaded vehicles or craft of any description whether belonging to or conducted by Protestants or Catholics shall be hereafter allowed to pass on that day; and all constables are hereby directed to seize and detain such as may make the attempt on the pain of forfeiting their, the said constables', offices.

Some indolent persons it is observed very improperly throw out the manure from their stables upon the river during the winter season, thereby not only impoverishing their own land but driving away the sturgeon and other fish from the river; such highly reprehensible conduct shall be severely visited whenever it is repeated.

The heathenish and blasphemous practices of conjuring over sick persons it is to be lamented still manifests itself from time to time in the settlement. It is therefore notified that any settlers who will hereafter dare to admit such devilish rites into their houses shall be banished from the colony and the pretending conjurors tried for their lives.

ADVERTISEMENT FOR THE FAIR.

This is to give notice that the half yearly fair will be held at the Frog Plains (Kildonan) on the 17th and 18th of this month. Half of the constables will attend the first day and the remainder on the second under David Livingstone and Charles Bruce, bailiffs, for the preservation of order, etc., and the regulation of the market. The bailiffs will attend at the New Fort Douglas on Monday, the 16th, when they will receive their salaries for the half year.

By order of the Governor,

GRANT FORREST. Accountant.

Fort Douglas, May 7th, 1825.

OTHER DOCUMENTS.

Mr. Bell also produced and read the following documents :—

Letter from Lord Selkirk at Pembina to Allen Macdonell, governor of the colony, dated Sept. 14, 1817.

Letter from Lord Selkirk, at Big Stone Lake, to the same, giving instructions about the colony, dated Sept. 28, 1817.

Letter from Lord Selkirk, at Sandwich, Ont., awaiting his trial, dated Sept. 12th, 1818.

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Letters of 1816, addressed to Peter Fidler from Brandon, relative to the Selkirk troubles, from different parties.

Copy of Lord Sherbrook's passport to the first R.C. missionaries, Frs. Provencher, Dumoulin and Edge, 1818.

Original receipts for the annual payment of extinguishing the Indian title, signed by Indian chiefs, who append their totems; dates 1823 and 1831.

Letter from Nicholas Garry, after whom Fort Garry, was named; date 1824.

Letter signed by Cuthbert Grant, leader of the half-breeds in the Seven Oaks battle.

Original warrant for the arrest of A. N. McLeod, chief wintering partner in the Northwest Company, who opposed Lord Selkirk; dated at Montreal, July 20th, 1818, and signed by F. W. Ermatinger, sheriff, for J. Monk, chief justice.

Contract for the delivery of the first cattle for the Red River valley cattle between Joseph Rollete, a famous Minnesota character, and the Governor of the Colony; also a similar contract between Alexis Bailey and the Governor.

Notice to the heads of families from the H. B. Company that only 12 bushels of wheat will be taken from each family; dated 1843.

Commission appointing constables, signed by W. B. Collman, His Majesty's special commissioner, sent to the Red River to act as intermediary between Lord Selkirk and the Northwest Company; dated Sept. 11th, 1817.

Contracts for the building of the new Fort Douglas in 1824.

Appointment of Wm. Kempt, the first sheriff; Oct. 21st, 1823.

Report of Capt. May, who was sent to Switzerland by Lord Selkirk to secure immigration for his colony. The report gives a description of those he had secured, and is dated Dort, Holland, May 24th, 1821.

Notice at Fort Douglas, October 22nd, 1823, that grain will be taken from the settlers in payment of old debts at the following values: wheat, 10 shillings per bushel; barley, 7s 6d.

List of the wind mills in 1833 and the amount of grain the settlers had promised to supply that year.

Head-quarters Fifth Regiment
of Infantry,
FORT ST. ANTHONY, June 19th, 1824.

GENTLEMEN,—I have this day received your letter of March 3, and shall immediately despatch an officer and party to reclaim the children of David Tully, who, I am informed, are under the protection of Mr. Jeffois, a half-breed, at Lake Traverse. I should send them to the Red river settlement by the nearest route; but the state of my command will not allow my furnishing an escort sufficient to ensure their safety. I have therefore directed that they shall be brought to this place, where they will remain under my protection until an opportunity offers of sending them home by the lakes. I shall not encroach upon the scanty portion of these orphans, by making any charge for their expenses while with me, on their way hither: I shall be amply repaid by the pleasure of having rescued them from Indian captivity, and restoring them to their friends.

I beg leave to assure you that it will always give me pleasure to promote the interests of your respective governments, so long as it may be consistent with my duty to my own country; and I hope that the present amicable relations between England and America may long continue.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,
J. SNELLING,
Col. Fifth U.S. Regiment of Infantry, commanding the posts on the Upper Mississippi.

George Simpson, Esq., Governor Northern Department, Rupert's Land;
R. P. Pelly, Esq., Governor of Assiniboine.

MEMORANDUM to be communicated to the Scotch settlers.

All the settlers in the Red river being bound to contribute to the support of a clergyman, I am of opinion that such of the Scotch settlers as do not belong to the Roman Catholic communion should, while unprovided with a Gaelic minister, give their assistance to the Protestant minister, the Rev. Mr. West. He intends commencing on Monday the 10th March to build a parsonage house, for the use and accommodation of the Protestant clergyman for the time being; and it will afford me great satisfaction, should I hear that the Scotch settlers above alluded to contribute towards that undertaking, by giving three days' labour, in such manner as may be directed by Mr. West.

(Signed) A. BULGER.
Fort Douglas, 1st March, 1823.

MAY the 30th, 1823.

It is hereby agreed between Robert Sanderson, Captain Bulger and the Rev. John West, that the said Robert Sanderson will put up the parsonage house, raising the side walls, with upper and lower floors grooved and planed; put on the roof, and find what boards may be wanted, with making the doors and window-frames and partitions, so as to form four rooms; mud the walls, make the chimney, and finish the whole building by the middle of October next ensuing, for the sum of Sixty Pounds.

The mark X of
ROBT. SANDERSON.
JOHN WEST.
A. BULGER.

☞ It is further agreed that the colony shall find nails, glass, locks, and any ironwork that may be wanted, without extra charge, to the said Robert Sanderson, for the building of the said parsonage house.

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I, GEORGE SIMPSON, do hereby swear, that I will observe secrecy in all matters connected with the interests of this colony, which may be discussed or taken into consideration in the council chamber; and that I will not divulge, or cause to be divulged, the individual sentiments as expressed in council, of either the governor or any member comprising the council, upon any matters or person which may be brought before them from time to time.

So help me God!

GEO. SIMPSON.

Sworn before me, at Fort Douglas, this twenty-first day of October, 1823.

R. P. PELLY,
Governor of Assiniboine.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL—OATH OF SECRECY.

Dated at Fort Douglas.

Geo. Simpson, 21st October, 1823.
Robt. Logan, "
John Pritchard, "
Thomas Thomas, "
Wm. Hemmings Cook, "
(Rev.) David Jones, "
R. P. Pelly, "
Capt. Fredk. Matthey, "
Alex. MacDonell, "

Sworn before
GEORGE SIMPSON,
Governor Northern Dept. Rupert's Land;
Except his own, sworn before
R. P. PELLY,
Governor of Assiniboine.

YOU, ANGUS MATHESON, shall well and truly serve our sovereign lord the King, and the governor and council of the district of Assiniboine, in the office of constable for the settlement of Red river; and shall well and truly serve the office of constable until lawfully discharged therefrom. You shall also well and truly do and execute all things belonging to the said office to the best of your skill and knowledge.

So help you God!

ANGUS MATHESON.

Sworn before me, at Fort Garry, Red river settlement, the 23rd day of Oct., 1823.

GEORGE SIMPSON,
Governor Northern Dept. Rupert's Land.

CONSTABLES.

Sworn in by Geo. Simpson, at the Red river settlement.

Capt. F. Matthey, 21st October, 1823.
Thos. Thomas, "
Alex. MacDonell, "
John Pritchard, "
Wm. Hemmings Cook, "
Robert Logan, "

CONSTABLES.

Dated at Fort Garry, before George Simpson, Governor Northern Department.

John Sutherland, 23rd October, 1823.
Angus Matheson, "
John McIntyre, "
John McBeath. "
Hugh Livingston, "
Robert Sanderson, "
James Livingston, 12th May, 1824.
George McBeath, "
John Mclean, 30th "

BAILIFF.

Donald Livingston, 23rd October, 1823.

SPECIAL CONSTABLES.

Sworn in by Geo. Simpson, at the Red river settlement.

Cuthbert Cummings, 19th October, 1823.
Cuthbert Grant, "
James Hargrave, "
Raphael Eagniant, "
Andrew McDermott, "
Augustin Nolin, "
Donald Gunn, "
James Folster, "
James Monkman, "
William Tait, A, 22nd "
William Garrioch, 23rd "
Michael Heydon, 24th "
Angus McGillis, 25th "
Louis Denis Laronde, 27th "
Louis Giboche, "
Thomas Bunn, "
John Henderson, 3rd November, 1823.
Francis M. Dease, 19th "

NOTICE is hereby given, that the colony register is now prepared for the entry of title-deeds for land. Those of the settlers who have received titles, will bring them for examination and registry the first time they may visit the fort; and those who have as yet received no titles, may have them on application to the governor at new Fort Douglas.

By order of the governor.

GRANT FORREST,
Accountant.

Fort Douglas, 20th January, 1825.

Following is a copy of a passport, allowing the Swiss settlers for the Selkirk colony to leave Switzerland. After reaching the Red river, in 1821, they remained until 1826, when they departed in a body for Minnesota.

[Translation.]

SWISS CONFEDERATION,

Under the direction of the central police of the town and republic of Berne, invites all the authorities charged with the maintenance of order for the good of the public, to give liberty of passage to the persons named in the following pages, all residents of Switzerland. to depart for the Red river, in Northern America, passing via Rotterdam, where they will embark under the direction of Captain Rudolphe May of that city, with a recommendation to give them aid and assistance in case of need, which favor will be reciprocated.

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This sheet has been delivered for the term of this voyage.

Made at Berne the 3rd May, 1821.

The Director, in his absence,
M. STEIGER, Adjutant;
The Chief Secretary,
M. ROSEHI.

Then follow the seals and signatures of public officials—"Ministre de Raviere," "Legation des Pays Bas le Maintcendra," "Canton Basel," "Stadt Coblenz."

Alphhonse Humbert Droz, number of family			4
Abram Perret	number of family		6
Jean Pierre Creutlet	"	"	7
Frederic Louis Stram	"	"	7
Veuve Susanne Aberli	"	"	7
Sigismond Flotron	"	"	8
Chretien Rychener	"	"	4
Abram Louis Marchand	"	"	7
Joseph Mundwyler	"	"	1
Benoit Schaub	"	"	1
David Houriet	"	"	2
Veuve Lydie Fournier	"	"	5
Veuve Philipine Droz	"	"	3
Chretien Rothenbuhler	"	"	2
Philippe Schirmer	"	"	1
Samuel Scheidegger	"	"	7
Jean Louis Ginand	"	"	1
Rodolphe Wyss	"	"	1
Jean Jaques Simon	"	"	3
Chretien Aebersold	"	"	4
Louis Jaques Ostertag	"	"	1
Pierre Rindisbacher	"	"	7
Louis Engel de Douanne		"	1
Jonas Pierre Guinand	"	"	1
Theodore Duboir	"	"	1
Jean Daniel Tissot	"	"	1
Philippe Schirmer (twice set down)			1
Jean Nicolas Longchamp, number of family			1
Benjamin Ligier	number of family		3
Aaron Dubach	"	"	5
David Hoerner	"	"	7
Victor Robert	"	"	1
Frederic Diaion	"	"	1
Alfred Quinche	"	"	1
Frederic Cuche	"	"	1
Julien Sunier	"	"	1
Margerite Grimm	"	"	1
Jean Duwmun	"	"	1
Frederic Henri Diaion	"	"	1
Jean Heber	"	"	4
Salome Knechtly	"	"	2
Caterine Bunzly	"	"	1
David des Combes	"	"	5
David Monier	"	"	11
Louis Chatelain	"	"	3
Charles Junot	"	"	2
Nicolas Hoffman	"	"	5
Jacque Langer	"	"	1
Louis Meroz	"	"	2
Edouard Haine	"	"	1
Auguste Guelberth	"	"	1
Charle Gobur	"	"	1
Jean Kocher	"	"	1
Edouard Piaget	"	"	1
Jacque Lamblet	"	"	1
Jean Weiss	"	"	3
Mme. Jonas Pierre de Guinand		"	2
Total			165

"FORKS, Red River, July 15, 1822.

SIR,—The Scotch settlers having held a conference among themselves, previous to the meeting appointed for this day, they beg leave to submit to your consideration the following statements:

1. A number of petitions has been forwarded to England from the settlers of Red river, on the subject of grievances, to which they never received no answer.

2. From the first crop we sow'd in the country there was a prospect of an abundant return, when we was driven from our lands and a great part of our property destroyed. On our return the following year, we were too late for seed-time, and consequently lost the returns of a second year's harvest. This depredations and losses, with the high prices of goods, has involved us in a heavy debts, from which we are unable to extricate ourselves.

3. We are anxious to know how we are to be supplied with goods, and if any reduction will be made from the present high prices; and also who will have the prizing of our grains.

4. There are upwards of fifty heads of families residing in Red river of the church of Scotland, most of which are Highlanders. These are anxious of having a minister of their own tenets, and preach in their own language."

A true copy,
R. BULGER.

In answer to the memorial of the Scotch settlers now at Red river, Mr. Halkett has to assure them in the first place, that he believes the petitions transmitted by them to England were all regularly received, and that every consideration was given to them there which the subject of them would admit of. He has not been in England since these were sent over; but a large packet of letters and petitions from the Red river settlers has lately been put into his hands, and which he will lose no time in attending to as much as in his power, and answer them for the executors of the late Earl of Selkirk as well as he can.

In the second place, he has to state with regard to the prices of goods, that it is uncertain at present how long the colony store will be permitted to continue; but while it does, those settlers who are industrious and worthy of encouragement, shall in time of distress receive some credit according to the state of the store at the time. The same indulgence, however, will not be allowed to persons who do not cultivate their lands, and endeavour by every reasonable means to provide for their families. The price of goods in the colony store is now to be reduced, the same to be seventy-five per cent. on the London prices (viz., the former York prices); and in order to encourage all the Red river settlers, Lord Selkirk's executors have resolved to remit the interest now due upon their debts, and further, to allow a reduction of twenty per cent. on

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the payment of the principal sum due by them respectively on the 31st day of May, 1822.

With respect to the price of grain, the prices as recommended by Lord Selkirk (viz., ten shillings per bushel for wheat, seven and sixpence for barley and seven and sixpence for pease) will at present be continued to the settlers for all which they may furnish to the colony store.

With respect to the application of the Scotch settlers for a clergyman of their own persuasion, Mr. Halkett will state the circumstance to the executors when he returns to England, and an answer will be sent to them as soon as possible.

(Signed) J. HALKETT.

Forks, Red river, July 10th, 1822.

LIST OF MEN belonging to the Red River Settlement, arriving in Hudson's Bay in 1811, and brought from York Factory, July, 1812.

Colin Campbell, aged 21, from Argyle, laborer.
John McKay, aged 22, from Ross-shire, boat builder.
John McLennan, aged 23, from Ross-shire, laborer.
Beth Bethune, aged 19, from Ross-shire, laborer.
Donald McKay, aged 17, from Ross-shire, laborer.
William Wallace, aged 21, from Ayr, laborer.
John Cooper, aged 26, from Orkney, laborer.
Nich'l Harper, aged 34, from Orkney, laborer.
Magnus Isbister, aged 21, from Orkney, laborer.
Geo. Gibbon, aged 50, from Orkney, laborer.
Thos. McKim, aged 38, from Sligo, overseer.
Pat. Corcoran, aged 24, from Crosmalina, carpenter.
John Green, aged 21, from Sligo, laborer.
Pat. Quinn, aged 21, from Killalla, laborer.
Martin Jordan, aged 16, from Killalla, laborer.
John O'Rourke, aged 20, from Killalla, laborer.
Anthony McDonnell, aged 23, from Killalla, laborer.
James Toomey, aged 20, from Sligo, laborer.
18 in all.

PASSENGERS on board the Prince of Wales for Red River Settlement.

1. Geo. Campbell, aged 25, from Archwigle Parish, Creech, Sutherland.
2. Helen, his wife, aged 20.
3. Bell, his daughter, aged 1.
4. John Sutherland, aged 50, from Kildonan. Died 2nd September at C. F., a very respectable man.
5. Catherine, his wife, aged 46.
6. George, his son, aged 18.
7. Donald, his son, aged 16.
8. Alexander, his son, aged 9.
9. Jannet, his daughter, aged 14.
10. Angus McKay, aged 24, from Kildonan.
11. Jean, his wife.
12. Alex. Gunn, aged 50, from Kildonan.
13. Christine, his wife, aged 50. Died 20th September, C. F.
14. William, his son, aged 18.
15. Donald Bannerman, aged 50. Died 24th September at C. F.
16. Christina, his wife, aged 44.
17. William, his son, aged 18.
18. Donald, his son, aged 8.
19. Christina, his daughter, aged 16.
20. Geo. McDonald, aged 48. Died 1st September, 1813, C. F.
21. Jannet, his wife, aged 50.
22. Betty Grey, aged 17.
23. Catherine Grey, aged 23.
24. Barbara McBeath, widow, aged 45, Borobal.
25. Charles, her son, aged 16.
26. Jenny (her daughter) aged 23.
27. Andrew McBeath, aged 19.
28. Jannet, his wife.
29. William Sutherland, aged 22, from Borobal.
30. Margaret, his wife, aged 15.
31. Christina, his sister, aged 24.
32. Donald Gunn, aged 65, from Borobal.
33. Jannet, his wife, aged 50.
34. (Transferred to Eddystone for H. B. Co. service.)
35. Geo. Gunn, son to Donald, aged 16, from Borobal, Parish-Kildonan.
36. Esther, his daughter, aged 24.
37. Catherine, his daughter, aged 20. Died 29th August, 1813, C. F.
38. Christian, his daughter, aged 10.
39. Angus Gunn, aged 21.
40. Jannet, his wife.
41. Robert Sutherland, brother to William, No. 29, aged 17, from Borobal.
42. Elizabeth Fraser, aunt to No. 30, aged 30.
43. Angus Sutherland, aged 20, from Auchraich.
44. Elizabeth, his mother, aged 60.
45. Betsy, his sister, aged 18. Died 26th, of consumption. C. C. Argyleshire.
46. Donald Stewart, from Parish of Appin. Died 20th August, 1813, at C. F.
47. Catherine, his wife, aged 30.
48. Margaret, his daughter, aged 8.
49. Mary, his daughter, aged 5.
50. Ann, his daughter, aged 2.
51. John Smith, from Parish Kildonan.
52. Mary, his wife.
53. John, his son.
54. Jean, his daughter.
55. Mary, his daughter.
56. Alex. Gunn, aged 58, from Parish of Kildonan, Sutherland.
57. Elizabeth McKay, his niece.
58. Betsy McKay, his niece.
59. Geo. Bannerman, aged 22, from Kildonan.
60. John Bruce, aged 60, from Parish of Clyne.
61. Alex. Sutherland, aged 24, from Parish of Kildonan.

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62. Wm. Sutherland, his brother, aged 19. Died.
63. Kate Sutherland, his sister, aged 20.
64. Haman Sutherland, aged 18, from Kenacoil.
65. Barbara, his sister, aged 20.
66. James McKay, aged 19, from Cain.
67. Ann, his sister, aged 21.
68. John Matheson, aged 22, from Authbreakachy.
69. Robt. Gunn (Piper) from Kildonan.
70. Mary, his sister.
71. Hugh Bannerman, aged 18, from Dackalury, Kildonan.
72. Elizabeth, his sister, aged 20.
73. Mary Bannerman.
74. Alexander Bannerman, aged 19, from Dackalury, Kildonan.
75. Christian, his sister. Died January, 1814, of consumption.
76. John Bannerman, aged 19.
77. Isabella, his sister, aged 16.
78. John McPherson, aged 18, from Gailable.
79. Catherine, his sister, aged 26.
80. Hector McLeod, aged 19.
81. George Sutherland, aged 18, from Borobal.
82. Adam, his brother, aged 16.
83. John Murray, aged 21, from Sirsgill.
84. Alexander, his brother, aged 19.
85. Helen Kennedy, from Sligo, Ireland.
86. Malcolm McEachren, from Skibbo, Isla. [Deserted.]
87. Mary, his wife. [Deserted.]
88. James McDonald, blacksmith, from Inverness. (To Fort Augustus.)
89. Hugh McDonald, carpenter. To Fort William. Died 3rd August.
90. Samuel Lamont, millwright, from Bowmore, Isla.
91. Alex. Matheson, from Kildonan.
92. John Matheson.
93. John McIntyre. (To Fort William.)
94. Neil Smith, son of No. 31, from Isla.
95. Edward Sheil, from Balyshannon.
96. Joseph Kerrigan, "

93 and 94 enter the service of the H.B.C. July, 1814.

No. 89, Hugh McDonald, died 3rd Aug. at sea.
Mr. P. La Serre, surgeon, died 16th Aug.
No. 46, Donald Stewart, died 20th Aug.
No. 37, Catherine Gunn, died 29th Aug.
No. 20, George McDonald, died 1st Sept.
No. 4, John Sutherland, died 2nd Sept.
No. 13, Christian Gunn, died 20th Sept.
No. 15, Donald Bannerman, died 24th Sept.
No. 45, Betsy Sutherland, died 26th Oct. of consumption.
No. 76, John Bannerman, died January of consumption.
Christian Sutherland.
Wm. Sutherland, jr.

NOTE.—This party landed at Churchill Factory, Hudson's Bay, about the 13th August, 1813, and the following spring went overland to York Factory and thence to the Red River Settlement.—C. N. B.

Lord Selkirk writes Miles Macdonald that he could not get a Catholic clergyman to go out to the settlement. Several had refused him.

LONDON, April 15th, 1814.

Dear Sir:

Since closing my letter of the 12th I have again seen Mr. F. Clark, and I enclose a duplicate of the substance of what is written to Mr. Robt. Dickson about the cattle.

I have also recollected that I have omitted mentioning that notice should be given to the partners or servants of the N. W. Co. at the Forks to quit possession in the manner pointed out in Burn's Justice, Article, "Distress, head XIV., tenant holding over," considering them as tenants at will. This should be done in writing, and verbally also, before enough of witnesses to prevent any question as to the notice being received. The same should be done at all the other posts of the N. W. Co. within the territory of Assiniboia.

I am, dear sir,
Yours very truly,
SELKIRK.

Miles Macdonell.

Geo. Bulger, writing Aug. 4th, 1822:

"As to what is styled 'Ft. Douglas.' It is well situated, though there is a better position for a fort about 200 yards higher up, upon the land which Mr. Pritchard gave up. But as to the fort itself it is, as Mr. Halkett can tell you, the most filthy miserable place imaginable. It is, by at least 25 feet, too small, and the stockades are for the most part rotten and tumbling down. The buildings, except one, are mere log huts, very old and so full of holes as to be perfectly unsuitable. The only one that is of any value is what is called the new house, but even this is nothing more than the shell of a badly built log house, being nowhere boarded outside, and having but two rooms finished inside and so badly have these been done that the light may be seen through the walls in many places."

An application having been made to the executors of the late Earl of Selkirk from the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the late Regiment de Meuron, now settled at the Red River, and which was transmitted to England last year, Mr. Halkett, on the part of the executors, declares as follows on the three several points of the said application:

1st. As there does not appear to be any means of ascertaining here what quantity of working utensils or other articles were allowed by Government to discharged soldiers in Canada in the year 1816, Mr. Halkett (who is of opinion that the Regiment de Meuron is entitled to these allowances) will, without delay, apply through the Military Secretary at Quebec for a list of the same, and as soon as it is received the allowances shall be made up to those who are entitled to them.

It appears that these discharged soldiers now at this place have been already fur-

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nished with horses upon credit. And with respect to cattle, they must know that the late Lord Selkirk did everything in his power to get cattle brought to the colony. It has happened unfortunately that the person with whom a contract was made for supplying the colony with cattle failed in two attempts to bring them here. But it is hoped that he will be more successful in the third attempt which he means to make this season. If the cattle should arrive, a fair proportion of them shall be delivered to the de Meurons, who will hold them as the property of Lord Selkirk, until it is ascertained whether and on what terms of payment the military settlers in Canada were allowed cattle by the Government in 1816.

2. Mr. Halkett knows nothing of any regular tariff formed, as the de Meurons say, by the late Earl of Selkirk, to regulate the prices of goods and grain in the colony. If the de Meurons have such a document they ought to produce it. At present all that Mr. Halkett can say is that the price of goods in the colony store is now to be reduced to seventy-five per cent. upon the London prices [the seventy-five per cent. being to cover the expense of transportation from London to the Red River]. And with regard to grain, the price recommended by the late Lord Selkirk, viz., ten shillings per bushel for wheat, seven shillings and six pence per bushel for barley, and seven shillings and six pence per bushel for pease, will at present be continued to be credited to the settlers for all that they may furnish to the person in charge of the colony.

3. It is very doubtful how long the colony store will be allowed to continue, but as long as it does there will be no objection to give to honest and industrious settlers, in seasons of distress, some credit for absolute necessaries only, so far as the state of the store at the time will allow. But those who do not, by the cultivation of their lands and every other fair means endeavor to discharge what they owe, cannot expect to be credited again. For the encouragement of all the settlers, the executors of Lord Selkirk have consented to take off the interest which has been charged upon their debts, and they will be credited with the amount thereof in this years' account. And upon the payment of the debts due by them on the 31st of May, 1822, a reduction will be allowed on the principal sum of their respective debts of no less than twenty per cent.

J. HALKETT.

Forks, Red River,
July 16th, 1822.

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C. C. Willoughby

The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba.

TRANSACTIONS Nos. 35 & 37.—SEASON 1888-9.

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CONTINUATION OF

HENRY'S JOURNAL,

COVERING

ADVENTURES AND EXPERIENCES IN THE FUR TRADE ON THE RED RIVER, 1799—1801,

BY

CHARLES N. BELL, F.R.G.S.,

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY,

HON. FELLOW ROYAL SCOTTISH GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, HONORARY CORRESPONDING MEMBER MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, CHICAGO ACADEMY OF SCIENCE.

TRANSACTION No. 36.

Lord Selkirk's Deed from the Hudson's Bay Co.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY BY

MR. JAMES TAYLOR, RECORDING SECRETARY.

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA.

that he
potatoes
ast bank of
had planted
Horses had de-
s. On the 10th
to the Hair Hills
tains) and found that
built about three leagues
our house of last winter,
foot of the steep sandy
e the river (Pembina) first
out from the mountains. A few
Assiniboines, Crees and Sonnants now
begin to come to our house at the moun-
tain to trade." A few days later we are
informed that Cournoyer of the X. Y.
Co., set off from Pembina for the Hair
Hills to build near the N. W. Co.'s house.

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HENRY'S JOURNAL.

At the meeting of the Scientific and Historical Society March 28th, 1889, President C. N. Bell read a paper on "Henry's Journal, covering adventures and experiences in the fur trade in the Red River country, from 1801 to 1806."

In the library or Parliament at Ottawa there is the manuscript journal of Alexander Henry, a fur trader of the Northwest Fur Company. A year ago I read a paper on Henry's experiences in the Red River country in 1799, 1800 and a part of 1801. As this manuscript has never been printed, its existence is almost unknown to historical students in Canada. So far as the writer is aware, it is practically speaking, the only detailed information extant regarding the history of the Red River country between 1799 and 1809, or in other words, of the years immediately preceding the establishment of the first settlers in tne Selkirk colony. The present paper takes up the narration of Henry's experiences, as recorded on the 22nd August, 1801, on his arrival at the Forks, on the site of the present City of Winnipeg, after returning from the annual gathering of the fur traders at Fort William, Lake Superior.

AT THE FORKS.

"Aug. 22nd.—We arrived at the forks of the Assiniboine river and sent on the canoes (to Pembina) and took the horse myself, and two men proceeded by land up the Assiniboine river, three leagues to the grand passage, where we crossed over on our horses, having the water up to our saddles, came on and slept at the passage on the River Salle."

At Pembina Henry found his new fort completed and fifty armed Saulteau Indians awaiting his arrival; the same band that traded with him there during the previous season. "The latter have made several trips to the Assiniboine river and have now a number of horses which they purchased there for guns and medicines; the latter is of their own collection, and consists of different roots and barks, some of which are found on the banks of this river and others are brought from the Fond du lac country and even from the south of Lake Superior." "An Indian arrived with his family in a small canoe in fifteen days from Leech Lake (now in Minnesota) and brings intelligence from that place of several Saulteaux having

MURDERED EACH OTHER

in a drinking match at that place a few days before he left. This caused a terrible uproar in the camp here, the deceased persons being near relations to some here. There were also persons related to the murderers, the former would insist upon retaliating and it was with the greatest trouble that we prevented them by taking all their arms from them. They were all drunk and kept up a most terrible crying, screaming and howling and lamenting he death of their relatives. The liquors tended only to augment the false grief." Scenes like the above were frequent and illustrate the deadly effect of the liquor traffic when the traders' outfits contained large quantities of high wines, which when diluted, was dealt out to the Indians, generally as a free gift.

On Sept. 1st Henry sent off a party of men under John Cameron, to Grand Forks, to establish a trading post. Men with trading goods were also sent to the Hair Hills post.

"Bras Court's daughter (a Saulteau girl) died, aged nine years. Great lamentation, and they must have a keg of liquor to wash away the grief from their hearts, and a fathom of cloth to cover the body, and a quarter pound of vermillion to paint the same."

During the winter of 1800-1 the Northwest Co.'s traders were alone on the Red River, though the Hudson's Bay Co. and the X. Y. Co. had posts on the Assiniboine. In September (1801) Thos. Miller, of the H. B. Co. with eight Orkney men arrived at Pembina from Albany River, Hudson Bay, and established a post on the east side of the Red River in the vicinity of where the town of

EMERSON NOW STANDS.

A few days later Mr. J. Crebossa and ten men of the X. Y. Co. appeared on the scene and established a trading post on the Red River below Henry's Fort Panbian, (Pembina.) "None of them dare build above me for fear of the Sioux coming here." There was a great deal of rivalry between the traders of the different interests during the ensuing season. Learning that the X. Y. Co. people in charge of a Mr. Desford were building at Scratching river, Henry sent down J. B. Desmarais with five men to oppose them in the fur trade.

On the 3rd Oct. Henry notes that he took one and a half bushels of potatoes from his garden patch on the east bank of the Red River, where he had planted some seeds in the spring. Horses had destroyed all the vegetables. On the 10th October Henry went to the Hair Hills (Pembina Mountains) and found that "Langlois had built about three leagues higher up than our house of last winter, exactly at the foot of the steep sandy banks where the river (Pembina) first issues out from the mountains. A few Assiniboines, Crees and Sonnants now begin to come to our house at the mountain to trade." A few days later we are informed that Cournoyer of the X. Y. Co., set off from Pembina for the Hair Hills to build near the N. W. Co.'s house.

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9. of C. C. Willoughby
Rec Je 23, 1927

"Neither of my neighbors have a horse, all their transportation is on their men's backs." The H. B. Co. people started to build a post at the "Grand Passage" on the Pembina River.

The better to observe the movements of his rivals in trade Henry had built in his fort a watch tower fronting the door of X. Y. company's fort, placing in it as watchmen St. Germain and Le Derc (or Le Diec.) The houses were whitewashed with a clay found in the Pembina Mountains.

THE FIRST RED RIVER CARTS.

The famous Red River cart now was constructed apparently for the first time, and fortunately we have given us a most interesting description of the original vehicles. "Men now go again for meat with small low carts, the wheels of which are of one solid piece sawed from the ends of trees, whose diameter is three feet. These carriages we find much more convenient and advantageous than to load our horses on the back, and the country being so smooth and level that we can make use of them to go in every direction." It may be as well here to give another entry in the journal made a year later which indicates that improvements had been made in the style of the carts and that they had been advanced to such a form of perfection that little change has since been made. "We require horses to transport the property, of which we have now a sufficient number for all our purposes, and a new sort of cart. They are about four feet high and perfectly straight, the spokes being placed perpendicularly without the least bending outwards, and only four in each wheel. These carts will carry about five pieces, and are drawn by one horse."

During the winter of 1801-2, little of particular interest took place. Stabbing affrays resulting from "drinking matches" were of frequent occurrence. The snow was deep and the cold intense, three of their horses dying from exposure. Tobacco was passing between the Crees, Assiniboines and Saulteaux from Leech Lake, at the head waters of the Mississippi river, to Lake Dauphin, to raise a large war party to raid in the Sioux country during the coming summer. The buildings in the fort at Pembina must have been large in size, as one store house is mentioned as being 100 feet long by 20 wide, built of oak logs.

A FORT BURNED.

In March the trading post of the H. B. Co. at the Grand passage of the Pembina river was burned, with great loss to the traders, though their rivals appear to have been delighted at their neighbors misfortune.

As early as the 28th April, 1802, the H. B. Co.'s people embarked for the Forks. On the 3rd May "arrived four Assiniboines in company with the Saulteaux, the first Assiniboines that came to this fort to trade and drink. They are very suspicious of the Saulteaux and appear always on their guard with their arms in their hands, guns, bows and arrows. The young Saulteaux would fain insult them during their drinking matches, but the men and myself prevented them from receiving any insults." Henry mentions that he set the first sturgeon net used in the river and it required 90 fathoms to reach across as the water was high and the current "forms a great bend" in the net. Garden seeds were sown on the 15th May.

MAKING THE WABANO.

"The Indians, having finished the grand medicine, are now making the Wabano. This ceremony is performed at all seasons of the year, but more particularly in the fall and spring, when they are assembled together in large parties. The ceremony is not of that solemn nature as the grand medicine, and does not require that ceremonious admittance. People of all ages and sexes may be partakers in the outward show of singing and dancing, but it is not every one of them who are acquainted with the mysteries concerning it, such as the different medicines that are required for certain cures, songs, conjurations, tricks, etc."

On the 30th May Henry left Pembina for the annual rendezvous of the Northwest traders at Grand Portage, Lake Superior. After transacting the usual business relating to the year's trade and obtaining the supply of goods for his next year's outfit, Henry returned with his canoes to the Red River district, arriving at the Forks on the 4th Sept. He went on horseback

TO PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE,

where he made the following appointments: E. Harrison at Portage la Prairie, L. Dorion at Bear's Head River, J. McDonell at Manitoaubance and Jos. St. Germain at Ft. Dauphin and Prairie en longue. Thence he proceeded to Pembina where the Indians were anxiously awaiting his arrival to taste the "new milk" as they termed the rum. Men were sent up to Turtle river to establish a post and others to the Pinancewaywining; and the Terre Blanche river near Rosseau Lake.

A young man having offered to Henry to work for nothing if he was allowed board and clothing with an Indian woman he was in love with, Henry notes—"This proposal did not surprise me, having seen several of these people as foolish as him and would not hesitate in signing an agreement of perpetual bondage on conditions of our permitting them to have an Indian woman that has struck his fancy."

The winter of 1802-3 passed quietly, nothing of consequence transpiring.

GATHERING RAT TAILS.

In April 1803, "Women gathering rat tails to eat. This root is about the size of

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a common pipe stem and from six to ten inches long, and from the same stalk adheres a number of these roots. They grow in pools and marshes of standing water and are of a yellowish color, and are tender and pleasant to the taste. They are edible at all seasons of the year, but more particularly in the spring. They are preferable to the esquibois, and not so hurtful to the constitution."

The men of the Northwest and X. Y. Companies quarrelled and fought during the spring.

A PLURALITY OF WIVES.

"Beaupere was desirous I should take his second daughter, saying one woman was not sufficient for a chief, and that all great men should have a plurality of wives, the more the better, provided they were all of the same family. In this he gave me a striking example in himself as he had three sisters at that time." Henry had evidently taken to himself a wife, though an entry in his journal of two years back points out that he was disinclined to do so.

THE FIRST CAT.

Mention is made of a cat having been taken from Portage la Prairie to the Souris river, and it is probable that the traders had at that early date taken cats into the country to destroy the mice, which committed great havoc with their dry goods, etc., as noted several times in Henry's journal. Gardening was now made quite a feature of the work at the fort. On the 6th June Henry transplanted 500 cabbage plants.

A TRIP TO SUPERIOR.

On the 13th June Henry started for Lake Superior, leaving Langlois with six men in charge of the Pembina fort, all winter posts being abandoned for the summer. The following brigades of boats left the Lake Winnipeg post together for Lake Superior: Athabasca, under Mr. McLain; Fort des Prairies, Mr. McDonnell; Swan River, Mr. McGillis; Upper Red River (Assiniboine), Mr. Cameron; Lake Winnipeg, Mr. McKenzie; Lower Red River, A. Henry. This year the brigades took a new route to Lake Superior, leaving Cross Lake east of Rainy Lake and making for the mouth of the Kaministiquia establishment, while the X. Y. Co.'s people went as usual to the Grand Portage. On the 3rd of July "we arrived at our new establishment of Kaministiquia. The first object that struck us was the two vesse s laying with their sides against the bank, the Invincible and the Otter, who were unloading their cargoes. We found great improvements had been made here for the space of one winter season. Fort, store, shop, etc., built, but not a sufficient number of dwelling houses for all hands. There was only one range erected and that not complete. Here was the mess room and apartments for the agents from Montreal, with a temporary kitchen, etc., adjoining. We were under the necessity of erecting our tents for our dwelling and in them we lodged during our stay here, which seldom exceeds twenty days. Building was going forward very briskly in every corner of the fort, and brick kilns were also erected and turning out great numbers. So that we shall have everything complete and in good order before our arrival here next year. Mr. R. McKenzie was in charge during the absence of the agents."

Sept. 20th.—Henry arrived at the Forks on his return from the new Fort William, and his notes of this date are interesting as descriptive of the wild state of the Winnipeg district at that time.

"I sent the Indians off hunting moose, red deer and bears, of which there are an abundance. I sent a hunter out to the Petite Montagne de Roche (Little Stony Mountain) who returned with the meat of four cow buffalos." After remaining here for a few days Henry "made up an assortment of goods for this place, where I leave Mr. Dorion." And so began the occupation of this site by the Northwest Company.

A SPECIMEN PARTY.

After commenting on the habits of indolence engendered by the use of horses amongst the traders' servants, Henry states that the men who owned horses always took Indian wives, and were led into great extraxagance thereby. He gaves the following amusing description of the departure of some of his men from Pembina to the Hair Hills post: "Let us now take a view of the bustle and noise which attends the present transportation of five pieces (450 pounds weight) to a place where they will find houses already built in 1801-2. The men were up at break of day and their horses tackled long before sunrise, but they were not in readiness to move before ten o'clock, when I had the curiosity to climb up on the top of my house to examine their motions and observe their order of march.

Aub Payet, guide and second in command, leads off the van with a cart drawn by two horses and loaded with his own private baggage, cassettes, bags, kettles, mashquemowtes (Indian sacks), etc.

Madame Payet follows the cart with a child of one year on her back—very merry.

C. Bottineau, with two horses and a cart loaded with one and a half packs, his own baggage and two young children with kettles and other trash hanging to his cart.

Madame Bottineau, with a young squalling child on her back, and she scolding and tossing it about.

Joseph Dubord, goes on foot with his long pipe stem and calumet in his hand. Madame Dubord follows her husband on foot carrying his tobacco pouch with a broad bead tail.

Aut. Thelliere with a cart and two horses loaded with one and a half packs of goods and Dubord's baggage.

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Aut. LaPointe, with another cart and two horses loaded with two pieces of goods and baggage belonging to Brisbois, Jessimin and Poulliotte and a kettle suspended on each side.

Aug. Brisbois follows with only his gun on his shoulder and pipe in his mouth fresh lighted.

Mic. Jessimine goes next same as Brisbois, with gun and pipe, puffing out clouds of smoke.

Mic. Poullotte, the greatest smoker in the Northwest, has nothing but pipe and pouch. Those three fellows having taken their farewell dram and lighted fresh pipes, send forth clouds of smoke and go on brisk and merry, playing numerous pranks.

Dom. Livernois, with a young mare, the property of Langlois, loaded with weeds for smoking, an old Indian worsted bag, Madame's property, and some squashes and potatoes and a small keg of fresh water and two young whelps, howling, etc.

Next goes Livernois' young horse drawing a traville loaded with his own baggage and a large worsted masquemowte belonging to Madame H. Langlois.

Next appeared Madame Cameron's young mare kicking and raving, hauling a traville which was loaded with a bag of flour, some cabbages, turnips, onions and a small keg of water and a large kettle of broth.

M. Langlois, who is master of the band, now comes on leading a horse that draws a traville that is nicely covered with a new painted tent under which is laying his daughter and Mrs. Cameron, extending at full length, and very sick. This covering or canopy has a pretty effect in the caravan and appears at a great distance in the plains.

Madame Langlois now brings up the rear of the human beings following the traville, with a slow step and melancholy air, attending to the wants of her daughter, who notwithstanding her sickness can find no other terms of expressing her gratitude to her parents than by calling them dogs, fools and beasts, etc. Rear guard consists of a long train of dogs, twenty in number. Some bred for sleighs, others for game, and some for pets of no use whatever only to snarl and destroy meat. The total forms a string near a mile long and appears like a large band of Asssiniboines."

GATHERING GARDEN STUFF.

In the middle of October the vegetables were taken from the garden and included 300 cabbages, 8 bush. carrots, 16 bush. onions, with turnips, beets, parsnips, etc., and "420 bush. potatoes, the produce of 7 bushels, exclusive of the quantity we have eaten since our arrival here." This was probably the first gardening on a large scale that was ever undertaken on the banks of the Red River.

An account is given of a "bad cough" that attacked the Indians and caused the death of many, which agrees with the records of more modern days when large numbers of the natives are destroyed by whooping cough.

A WIFE AT SIGHT.

It is well known that the traders purchased Indian women by trading horses for them, but the following passage in the journal seems extraordinary: "Livernois has exchanged his mare for a young wife about eighteen years of age. This is a very common circumstance in the Northwest to give a horse for a woman."

Much suffering was endured by the traders at The Forks, Death river and Portage la Prairie, in January 1804, on account of the cold and scarcity of food. When visiting the latter place, Henry refers to Lake Manitoba as follows: "This part of the lake is erroneously called by us Manethowaubane. The southern part is called by the natives the Rush lake, and the Northern is called Manithoaubang." The earliest maps generally refer to it as Meadow lake, or Assiniboine lake, and it is likely that these names were given to the southern and northern parts respectively.

INDIANS FIGHTING.

During the winter the Indians, as usual, were fighting in their camp near the fort. By the 4th of April the Red River was clear of ice, and on the 20th of that month the canoes were laden and the brigade started for Lake Superior. On leaving Lake Winnipeg the N. W. Co., X. Y. Co. and the Swan River Co. (?) mustered a fleet of 33 canoes and 5 bateaux. Quite a large assortment of furs was shipped from Henry's out post at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, where Mr. Dorion had been in charge during the winter. Portage la Prairie post was placed in care of Dorion for the summer. The N. W. company's posts during the winter of 1803-4 in the Red River district were situated at Portage la Prairie, Lake Manitoba, Dead River (Nettly Creek), Portage en Longue, the Forks, Hare Hills, Park River and Pembina.

At Fort William in July Henry writes: "Men not so difficult to hire this year as last, when boaters for the Lower Red River refused 700 Grand Portage currency and Milieux extra equipments."

Arriving again at Pembina September 6th Henry found "men (Saulteaux) all off to war since the 4th." This is the second excursion, the Assiniboines have now joined them and form a party of about 300 men, of which 150 are on horse back. The Crees stole the traders' horses at Pembina Mountain. A large crop of vegetables, including melons, cucumbers, squashes, corn, 500 cabbages and 1,000 bushels of potatoes was raised at Pembina by the men left in charge during the summer months.

In November the traders were fired on by the Indians near Nettly Creek.

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BUFFALO BURNED.

Nov. 25th—"Plains burnt iu every direction. Blind buffalo were seen wandering about every moment. The poor beasts have all their hair singed off to the skin, and even the skin in many places is shrivelled up and burnt in a most terrible manner, thcir eyes swollen and closed fast. It was really pitiful sight to see them walking about, sometimes running foul of a large stone, at other times tumbling down hill and falling into creeks that were not yet frozen over. In one spot we found a whole herd all lying dead near each other."

The traders of the X. Y. Co. were established on the Salt River and the N. W. Co. had posts in the Red River district at Portage la Prairie, Dog Lake, Prairie en Longue, Dead River, White Mud River of Lake Winnipeg, Hair Hills, Salt River and Paubian.

On the first day of January, 1805, an express arrived at Pembina with information to the traders that the N. W. Co. and the X. Y. Co. had amalgamated their interests, and Henry writes that it was high time as every Indian on the river was a chief and goods were given gratis, except "silver works, strouds and blankets." All the Indians wore scarlet coats, had large kegs and flasks and were very insolent and saucy." It is worth noticing his statement made concerning the red coats, for it was probably by this means that the Indians were educating into holding their ideas concerning the Queen's soldiers being all clad in scarlet. The N. W. Co. sent inland from Fort William in 1805, as that year's outfit of goods, 156 canoes, containing 3,290 "pieces" of goods, each piece weighing 90 ponnds. Accompanying the goods were 1,771 "pieces" containing provisions. This stament gives us some idea of the immense trading business carried on.

THE SUMMER OF 1805.

Henry apparently remained in the Red River district during the summer of 1805, and as the Crees, Assiniboines and Saulteaux gathered at Pembina to form a war party to attack the Sioux, who had killed some Saulteaux at Tongue River, he descended the river to the mouth of the Assiniboine, (Winnipeg), to be out of the way, where he enters in his journal the party "were ten days amusing ourselves fishing and hunting wild fowl, and getting fruit. We caught sturgeons and all other kind of fish peculiar to this river in great abundance. Wild fowl were in plenty about the entrance of the river, and at the Dead River plums were perfectly ripe and the men daily go out and return with loads of that delicious fruit. During our stay here we took a number of excellent whitefish in our small nets. The women gather great quantities of hazel nuts but the mice render it almost impossible to preserve them. Choke cherries, paubians, plums, grapes, wild red cherries, &c., are all in abundance, and delightful amusement for all hands."

Early in October they returned to Pembina and found the Hudson's Bay Co.'s people building and about 80 Indian anxiously awaiting their arrival in expectation of getting as much rum as usual, but in this they were mistaken, for Henry at once drew up an agreement with Mr. Miller, the H. B. Co.'s officer, and divided between them the Indian hunters. With naivete Henry records "taking good care to keep the best hunters for myself, and settled matters so as to keep them in due order and prevent them cheating us, &c." Flattery and threats did not induce the traders to give out liquor without returns. Henry's men found the remains of a Sioux supposed to have been killed by the Saulteaux in a fight. The body was laid out on the open prairie and gaily decorated. The arrival of

SOME FREE HUNTERS

at Pembina is announced in the following words: "X. Y. Freemen from the Assiniboine, the first of the kind ever came to the Paubian River, as great a nuisance according to their capabilities as even their former employers. This quarter has always been free from men of that description, having always made it a settled rule, with myself, never to give a man his freedom in this country on any condition whatever." In November a buffalo walked into the fort through the open gate and was killed by the men. Henry owned what was likely the first library taken into the Red River country and he mentions that it was partially destroyed by fire.

The winter passed quietly until February, when a three days' "drinking match" took place and guns, axes and knives were freely used. Henry sums up the situation in the two words "very disagreeable." In April the workmen had made fifteen carts and one wheelbarrow. The latter article was, in all probability, the first of its kind ever in use in the Red River country. Henry describes the punishment inflicted on a squaw by her husband for

"GADDING ABOUT."

The rascal hamstrung his young wife. On the 14th May three quarts of oats were sown in the garden. Starting the brigade for Fort William in June, Henry returned and left for a trip to the Missouris River, where he encountered the Mandan and Cheyenne Indians. The H. B. Co.'s brigade from the Red River had a drum and fife band which "plagued" Henry to a considerable extent.

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LORD SELKIRK'S DEED FROM THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.

The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba met in its rooms on the evening of 25th April, 1889, the 1st Vice President, Mr. A. B. Baird in the chair, Mr. James Taylor, Recording Secretary of the Society read a paper entitled "The right's titles and privileges granted to Lord Selkirk in 1811." After a few introductory remarks Mr. Taylor said:

In his book entitled "An Overland Journey Round the World," at page 42, and dedicated to the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Co.—Sir George Simpson—a Governor of the H. B. Co. says of the lands deeded to Lord Selkirk: "The tract "which was thus set apart for the pur-"poses of Agriculture and civilization ex-"tended in longitude,—from the sources "of the Winnipeg to the plains of the "Saskatchewan,—and in latitude, from "the sources of the Assiniboine to the In-"ternational Boundary."

Mr. J. J. Hargrave, another Hudson's Bay Company's officer—in his book entitled "Red River," at page 72, and dedicated to the Earl of March, says: "In the "year 1811, the Earl of Selkirk purchased "from the Hudson's Bay Co. the owner-"ship of a vast tract of land, including, "as a small part of the whole—the ground "occupied at the present time by Red "River Settlement. The rights granted "to Lord Selkirk were full proprietary "rights to the soil, subject only to the "burden of extinguishing the Indian "titles. Till that date (1811) the question "of these claims had lain between the In-"dians and the Company." The Hon. Alexander Morris, late Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba—in his book "The "Treaties of Canada with the Indians of "Manitoba and the North West Terri-"tories," at pages 300, 301 and 302—a work dedicated to the Right Honorable the Earl of Dufferin in 1880, has printed a very small portion of the Selkirk Deed. The reasons why all the provisoes and conditions expressed in the deed—and also the map shewing the territory sold to Lord Selkirk and to which he refers at page 14—have been suppressed and left out of his book—most certainly calls for an explanation from Hon. Mr. Morris.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN LORD SELKIRK AND THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.

This Indenture made the twelfth day of June in the fifty first year of the Reign of Our Sovereign, Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King Defender of the Faith and in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eleven.

Between the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay of the one part and the Right Honorable Thomas Earl of Selkirk of the other part.

Whereas the said Governor and Company are seized to them and their successors in fee simple as absolute Lords and Proprietors of all the Lands and Territories situate upon the Coasts and Confines of the Seas, Streights, Bays, Lakes, Rivers, Creeks and Sounds within the entrance of the Streights commonly called Hudson's Streights in the North West parts of America and which Lands and Territories are reported as one of the Plantations or Colonies belonging or annexed to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and are called Ruperts Land.

And whereas the said Governor and Company have for divers good and valuable causes and considerations them thereunto moving agreed to convey and assure a certain Tract or Parcel of the said Lands and Territories hereinafter described unto and to the use of the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns under and subject to certain conditions hereinafter expressed and contained.

Now therefore this Indenture witnesseth that in pursuance of such agreement and in consideration of the sum of ten shillings of lawful money of Great Britain to the said Governor and Company well and truly paid by the said Earl of Selkirk at or before the execution of these presents (the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged) and for divers good and other valuable causes and considerations them the said Governor and Company have given granted, aliened, enfeoffed and confirmed and by these presents, do give grant, alien, enfeoff and confirm unto the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns, all that Tract of Land or Territory being within and forming part of the aforesaid Lands and Territories of the said Governor and Company bounded by an imaginary line running as follows (that is to say) beginning on the western shore of Lake Winnipie, otherwise Winnipey, at a point in fifty two degrees and thirty minutes north latitude and thence running due west to the Lake Winnepigoos, otherwise called Little Winnipey, then in a southerly direction through the said Lake so as to strike its western shore in ln latitude fifty-two degrees, then due west to the place where the parallel of fifty-two degrees north latitude intersects the western branch of Red River, otherwise called Assiniboine River, then due south from that point of intersection to the Height of Land which separates the waters running into Hudson's Bay from those of the Missouri and Mississippi. then in an easterly direction along the said Height of Land to the source of the River Winnipie or Winnipey (meaning by such last named River, the Principal

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Branch of the waters which unite in Lake Saginagas), then along the main stream of the waters and the middle of the several Lakes through which they flow to the mouth of the Winnipie River and thence in a northerly direction through the middle of Lake Winnipie to the place of beginning.—(Morris.)

As the said Tract or Parcel of Land hereby granted or intended so to be is more particularly described and distinguished, and the boundary thereof marked out in the map or plan annexed to these presents, in which plan the lands hereby intended to be granted are colored red.

Together with all mines, minerals and metals and delfs and quarries of stone and lime already discovered or hereafter to be discovered within tne limits of the land hereby granted and enfeoffed or otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be.

And also all and singular, houses, edifices, buildings, forests, woods, springs, woodlands, and underwoods and the ground and soil thereof respectively. Trees, timber and timber like trees, quays, wharfs, landings and landing places, lakes, ponds, rivers, pools, dams and streams of water, fishings and fishing places and rights of fishery, moats, moors, marshes, wastes, waste grounds, commons, common of pasture and common of turbary furzes, heaths mounds, hedges, fences, ditches, roads, feus, feu-grounds, ways, paths, passages, easements, waters, water-courses and all and singular other the rights, franchises, liberties, customs, profits, commodities, emoluments, benefits, advantages. members, hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever to all and singular the said lands and premises hereby granted and enfeoffed or otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be, or any part or parcel thereof belonging or in anywise appertaining or to or with the same held used possessed or enjoyed or accepted, reputed, adjudged, esteemed, deemed. taken or known as part parcel or member thereof, or of any part thereof or as appurtenant thereunto and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders yearly and other profits of the said land, hereditaments and premises hereby granted and enfeoffed or otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be, or any part or parcel thereof and all the estate, right, title, interest, use, trust, inheritance, property, possession, benefit, claim, and demand whatsoever at law and in equity or otherwise howsoever of them the said Governor and Company of in to or out of the land, hereditaments, and premises hereby granted and enfeoffed or otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be and every part and parcel of the same. Saving and reserving nevertheless to the said Governor and Company and their successors all rights of jurisdiction whatsoever granted to said Company by their Charter.

To have and to hold the land and hereditaments and all and singular other the premises hereby granted and and enfeoffed or otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be, and every part and parcel of the same unto the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns for ever.

As to for and concerning such an extent or quantity or such separate extents or quantities of the Tract or Territory of Land hereby granted and enfeoffed shall in the whole amount be equal to one tenth part of the said Tract or Territory and which one tenth shall be set out by the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs or assigns before or within the space of three years after the said Governor and Company or their successors shall by some writing under the hand of the Governor of the said Company for the time being require the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs or assigns to make such division or setting out to the use of such person or persons being or having been in the service or employ of the said Governor and Company for a term not less than three years immediately preceding the date and execution of any direction or appointment to be made by the said Governor and Company and their successors under this present power, in such parts, shares, and portions and for such estates and interests as the said Governor and Company and their successors shall from time to time by any writing to be sealed with the common seal of the said Company direct or appoint.

Nevertheless, so that no person taking under any such direction or appointment and being under the Rank or Degree of Master of a Trading Post, shall be or become entitled to any greater part share or proportion than two hundred acres, nor any person of the Rank or Degree of Master of a Trading Post any greater part share or proportion than one thousand acres.

And also, so that every use estate or interest which shall be created under or by virtue of any direction or appointment to be made by the said Governor and Company and their successors in pursuance of the aforesaid power be made and rendered subject to a condition to be void if the person or persons or his, her or their assigns shall not be or become a settler or settlers upon the land hereby directed or appointed or if he, she or they or his, her or their assigns shall neglect or fail to cultivate and continue the cultivation of the same land and in the mean time and until such direction or appointment shall be made and so far as any such direction or appointment shall not extend.

To the use of the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns for ever and to and for no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever.

And as to all the remaining part or parts. portion or portions of the said Tract or Territory. To the use of the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns for ever.

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Nevertheless, upon under and subjet to the conditions hereinafter mentioned expressed and declared of and concerning the same.

And to the intent that these presents may be rendered a complete and effectual assurance. The said Governor and Company have made, ordained, constituted and appointed and by this present Deed or Instrument under their common seal—Do make, ordain, constitute and appoint William Auld, Thomas Thomas, William Sinclair, William Hillier, James Swain, Donald Sutherland, Hugh Heney, John Stitt, John McKay, and Archibald Mason, all servants of the said Governor and Company jointly and each and every of them separately their true and lawful attornies and attorney, for them the said Governor and Company and in their name, place and stead to enter into and upon the land, hereditaments and premises hereby granted and enfeoffed or otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be, or into or upon any part or parcel of the same in the name of the whole, wholly and quiet and peaceable possession and seizin of the said land, hereditaments and premises and of every or any part thereof, in the name of the whole, for and in the name of the said Governor and Company, to have and take and after such entry made and possession and seizein so had and taken as aforesaid to deliver quiet and peaceable possession and seizein thereof and of every part thereof unto Miles McDonnell, Esquire, Kelly Clerk, Abel Edwards, Surgeon, Kenneth MacRae and William Tomison, Gentlemen, whom the said Earl of Selkirk hath made, ordained, constituted and appointed, and by these presents doth, make, ordain, constitute and appoint jointly and separately his true and lawful attornies and attorney for and in his name place and stead to take and receive the same, to be had and held according to the tenor form and effect of these presents.

And the said Governor and Company, and the said Earl of Selkirk do hereby respectively ratify, confirm and allow to be sufficiently available all and whatsoever their said attorneys respectively shall lawfully do in the premises by virtue of these presents. Provided always, and it is hereby agreed and declared between and by the parties hereto, and the presents are upon this express condition. That if the said Thomas Earl of Selkirk, his heirs or assigns shall not within the space of ten years to be computed from the date of these presents settle or establish upon the tract of ground hereby expressed to be granted—One thousand families, each of them consisting of one married couple at the least, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents.

And if the said Governor and Company shall by notice in writing to be given to the said Thomas Earl of Selkirk, his heirs or assigns or left at his or their dwelling or usual place of abode require him or them to establish and settle such a number of families on the premises as will make up one thousand families on the same.

And the said Thomas Earl of Selkirk, his heirs or assigns shall during the space of three years next after such notice shall be given or left as aforesaid neglect to settle or make up the said number of families—then and in that case it shall be lawful for the said Governor and Company by Deed under their common seal to revoke the grant hereinbefore expressed and contained, and to enter upon the premises hereby granted of his or their former estate—but, subject and without prejudice to such grant as shall have been previously made by the said Earl, his heirs or assigns to or in favour of any person or persons, so as upon the land comprized in any such grant there be actual settlers to the amount of one family for every five thousand acres.

And also upon this further express condition that the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs or assigns or any other person or persons deriving title by from through or under him, them or any of them shall not nor will at any time or times hereafter, in or by any direct or indirect mediate or immediate manner, ways or means, infringe or vlolate, or set about or attempt to infringe, or violate, or aid, assist or abet, or set about, or attempt to aid, assist or abet or supply with spirituous liquors — trading goods — provisions or other necessaries any person or persons whomsoever corporate or incorporate, or any Prince, Power, Potentate or State whatsoever, who shall infringe or violate, or who shall set about, or attempt to infringe or violate the exclusive rights, power, privileges, and immunities of commerce, trade and traffick, or all or any other of the exclusive rights, powers, privileges and immunities of or belonging or in any wise appertaining to or held, used or enjoyed by the said Governor and Company and their successors and particularly such rights, powers, privileges and immunities as they are entitled to under or by virtue of or which were given and granted or intended to be given and granted to them and their successors by the Charter of His late Majesty King Charles the Second, bearing date on or about the second day of May, in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-nine —save and except such rights, powers, privileges, immunities and franchises as are incident to the land hereditaments and premises hereby granted and enfeoffed or otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be, or any part or parcel of the same and which are hereby intended to pass by and with the same without the license or consent in writing of the Governor of the said Company and their successors for the time being for that purpose first had and obtained.

And also, that he, the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs or assigns or any person

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deriving title by, from, through, or under him, them, or any of them—shall not in any manner without such license or consent as aforesaid carry on or establish or attempt to carry on or establish in any posts of North America, any trade or traffick, in or relating to any kind of furs or peltry or in any manner directly or indirectly aid or abet any person or persons in carrying on such trade or traffic or in any manner otherwise than as hereinafter mentioned, navigate or traffic or assist in navigating or trafficking upon or within any of the seas or waters within Hudson's Streights aforesaid, or unlawfully enter into or tresspass upon any part of the land or territories belonging to the said Governor and Company and their successors in or at Ruperts Land aforesaid, not hereby granted and enfeoffed or otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be.

Nevertheless it is agreed that no act of entry shall be deemed construed or taken to be an act of tresspass within the meaning of this condition unless committed after some special notice or prohibition in writing, shall be or have been given by the said Governor and Company or their successors or some person or persons duly authorized by them unto the person or persons who from time to time shall be, or be alleged to be guilty of such trespass.

Provided also, and it is hereby further declared and agreed by and between the parties hereto, and the presents are upon this further condition that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Governor and Company and their successors at any time or times except in respect to such of the land hereby granted and enfeoffed or otherwise assured or expressed and intended to be, as shall have been put by the said Earl, his heirs or assigns into a state of actual cultivation or settlement to form or make within the said tract of land hereby granted any post or place, posts or places of establishment or communication for traffick, trade or commerce with the native Indians and for such purpose to and for the said Governor and Company and their successors to use, occupy and enjoy such post or place, posts or places, and in like manner to use, occupy and enjoy all and every post and place or posts and places already formed or made with free liberty of ingress, egress and regress to and for the said Governor and Company and their successors and their servants or agents with or without horses, carts, carriages, boats, vessels and other usual or customary vehicles of conveyance to go to and from the said posts and places in over or upon all and every or any of the roads, ways, rivers and canals which now do or which shall or may from time to time lead to or from the said posts or places doing as little damage as may be to the other part of the land hereby granted and enfeoffed and allowing reasonable compensation for the damage which shall be so done.

Provided also, and it is hereby further declared and agreed between and by the parties to these presents that the several conditions herein before contained shall not be construed and taken to be entire conditions, so that a dispensation or waver of any part branch or member either pro-tempore or otherwise shall operate as a waver or dispensation of every part of such condition, it being the true intent and meaning of the said parties to these presents that the same conditions may be dispensed with, in part either pro-tempore or otherwise and yet continue in force and being as to every other part branch or member thereof, not within the express letter of such dispensation any rule of law to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And it is also declared and agreed between and by the parties to these presents, and the said Governor and Company for themselves and their successors hereby grant, that in case the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs or assigns shall alien or otherwise dispose of the land, hereditaments and premises hereby granted and enfeoffed, or otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be, in separate parcels or divisions, such division or parcel shall so far as concerns any condition herein contained, be and shall be deemed; construed and taken to be held distinct, separate and apart from the other or others of the said divisions or parcels, and the estate and interest of the owner and proprietor, owners and proprietors of any one or more division or parcel, divisions or parcels shall not be or be liable to be defeated or destroyed by any act of forfeiture or breach of condition which shall be made, done or committed by the owner or proprietor, owners or proprietors of any other division or parcel, divisions or parcels, but shall and may notwithstanding such act of forfeiture or breach of condition continue and be in full force and effect, in like manner, as though the several conditions herein contained had been annexed to the estate and interest of such last mentioned owner, proprietor or proprietors only and not to the estate or interest of any other owner or proprietor, owners or proprietors.

Provided also, and it is hereby further declared and agreed between and by the parties to these presents that in all and every or any case of forfeiture or breach of the conditions herein contained the said Governor and Company and their successors shall take advantage and avail themselves of the same by entry, within five years from the day or time on or upon which any act of forfeiture or breach of condition shall be or have been made, done or committed or be for ever barred and foreclosed from taking advantage of the same, it being intended and hereby agreed that such omission on the part of

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the said Governor and Company and their successors, whether arising from want of knowledge or from any other cause, shall be construed to be and shall operate as a dispensation or waver of such forfeiture.

Provided also, and it is hereby further agreed and declared between and by the parties to these presents and the said Governor and Company do hereby for themselves and their successors, give and grant unto the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns and all and every the person and persons whomsoever claiming or deriving title by, from, through, or under him, them or any of them, as lessee or lessees, or otherwise, free liberty and license to convey any produce of Rupert's Land aforesaid, save and except the furs, skins of beavers and other animals of a wild and untamed nature, to Port Nelson, in Hudson's Bay, and to commit, send and consign the same to the Port of London, to be there deposited and lodged in the warehouses belonging to or to be from time to time appointed by the said Governor and Company and their successors.

And in like manner to import, bring and convey into the said land and territories called Rupert's Land any goods, wares, merchandizes or commodities of any kind, nature or description whatsoever as well, manufactured for the use, convenience and consumption of the persons being or residing within the limits of the land hereby granted and enfeoffed, or otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be, and to sell, barter and exchange, or otherwise dispose of the same at his and their will and pleasure.

Nevertheless, it is further agreed that the said produce. goods, wares, merchandizes and commodities shall be conveyed to and from Port Nelson in ships or vessels, to be from time to time provided by the said Governor and Company and their successors, in pursuance of the covenant or agreement in that behalf hereinafter contained.

And also that the said Governor and Company and their successors shall and may claim and shall be paid and allowed by the owner or proprietor, owners or proprietors of the said produce, goods, wares, merchandizes and commodities, all charges as and for and in the nature of quayage, wharfage, warehouse room and commission for sale which shall be or constitute the average or ordinary price or prices in similar cases.

Together with such charge for freightage as shall at the time or respective times be paid or payable for vessels navigating between the Ports of London and Quebec, or at or for such rates of freight as vessels can or may be chartered between London and Hudson's Bay.

And the said Governor and Company shall and may also charge and shall be paid and allowed for the license hereby given and granted to and for the purposes hereinafter mentioned, as and in the nature of a custom or duty any sum not excexceeding five pounds, for and upon every one hundred pounds in value, or amount of the produce, goods, wares, merchandizes and commodities, which shall or may be conveyed to or from Port Nelson aforesaid, and so in proportion for a less quantity in value or amount than one hundred pounds unless the same kind of produce, goods, wares, merchandizes and commodities shall be subject to a higher rate of duty or importation at Quebec, and then in cases of importation the said Governor and Company and their successors shall and may charge, and shall be paid and allowed at and after the same rate as shall be paid or payable at Quebec, such value or amount to be from time to time fixed and ascertained in all cases of imports by and upon the actual and bona fide invoice prices, and in all cases of exports by the net proceeds of sales at London.

And the said Governor and Company do hereby for themselves in their corporate, and not individual capacity and for their successors, covenant promise and agree to and with the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns in manner following, that is to say;

That notwithstanding any act, deed, matter or thing whatsoever made, done, committed, permitted or suffered to the contrary by them the said Governor and Company, or by any person or persons claiming or to claim by, from, through, under or in trust for them, they, the said Governor and Company now have in themselves. good right, full power and lawful and absolute authority by these presents to convey and assure the land, hereditaments and premises hereby granted and and enfeoffed, or otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be, and every part and parcel of the same unto and to the use of the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns, according to the true interest and meaning of these presents, and also that notwithstanding any such act, deed, matter or thing as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns, immediately after livery of seizure made and executed in pursuance of these presents, and from time to time and at all times thereafter peaceably and quietly to have hold, use, occupy, possess and enjoy the land, hereditaments and premises hereby granted and enfeoffed, or otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be, and every part and parcel of the same and the rents, issues and profits thereof to have, receive and take for his and their own use and benefit without any let, suit, trouble, eviction, molestation, ejection, expulsion, interruption, hindrance or denial of from or by the said Governor and Company or their successors or any other person or persons lawfully or equitable claiming or to claim any estate, right, title, trust or interest at law or in equity of, in, to, out of or upon the said

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land, hereditaments and premises or any part or parts of the same by, from, through, under, or in trust for them, and that free and clear, and freely and clearly and absolutely, acquitted, exonerated, released and discharged or otherwise by the said Governor and Company and their successors at their own costs and charges, well and sufficiently protected, defended, saved harmless and kept indemnified of, from and against all former and other gifts, grants, bargains, sales, leases, mortgages, jointures, uses, trusts, wills, intails, annuities, legacies, rent charge, rent seck, rent service, and all arrears of rent, and also of from and against all and all manner of fires, issues, seizures, amerciaments, statutes, recognizances, judgements, executions, extents, suits, decrees, debts of record, debts to the King's Majesty, or any one of his predecessors, sequestrations, debts, titles, troubles, liens, charges and incumbraaces, at any time or times heretofore, and to be at any time or times and from time to time hereafter made, done or committed, occasioned, permitted or suffered by the said Governor and Company or their successors or any other person or persons rightfully claiming or to claim by, from, through, under, or in trust for them, or by their acts, means, default, consent, privity or procurements.

And moreover, that they the said Governor and Company and their successors, and all persons whomsoever lawfully or equitably claiming or to claim, by, from, through, under, or in trust for them any estate, right, title, trust, charge or interest of, in, to, or out of the land, hereditaments and premises hereby enfeoffed or otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be, or any part or parcel of the same shall and will from time to time and at all times hereafter upon every reasonable request, and at the costs and charges in all things of the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns make, do, acknowledge, suffer, execute, and perfect, or cause, or procure to be made, done, acknowledge, suffered, executed or perfected all such further and other lawful and reasonable acts, deeds, devices, conveyances, and assurances in the law whatsoever, either by common recovery or recoveries, deed or deeds enrolled or not enrolled, release confirmation or assurance whatsoever for the further, better, more perfectly and absolutely and satisfactorily conveying or assuring the said land, hereditaments and premises and every part and parcel thereof, unto and to the use of the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns, subject to the power of appointment on the part of the said company, and to the conditions and provisoes hereinbefore contained, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents, as by the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs or assigns, or his or their counsel in the law shall be reasonably devised or advised and required, so as further assurances or any of them shall not contain or imply any other or more general covenants or warranty on the part of the said Governor and Company than as for or against them and their successors in their corporate and not individual capacity, and on the part of any other person or persons who shall be required to make and execute the same than for the acts, deeds and defaults of himself or themselves respectively and his, her and their executors and administrators, and so as the person or persons who shall be required to make or execute such further assurances be not compelled or compellable for the making or doing thereof to go or travel above ten miles from his, her or their dwellings or places of abode.

And further that the said Governor and Company and their successors shall and will from time to time and all times hereafter find and provide the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns and all and every other person or persons whomsoever deriving title, by, from, through, or under him, them, or any of them, either as lessee or lessees or otherwise, and who shall be or become a settler or settlers upon or at Rupert's Land aforesaid, with good suitable and convenient ships or vessels, in order and to the intent that he, she or they, may in pursuance and under or by virtue of the licence hereinbefore given and granted, convey such produce, goods, wares, merchandizes and commodities as aforesaid to and from Port Nelson aforesaid, and also, shall and will find and provide proper and suitable warehouses, wharfs, quays and other places for housing tnd landing the same before lading or after unlading thereof on being paid and allowed such price or rate of freightage and duty and such quayage, wharfage, and warehouseroom as aforesaid.

And in case the said Governor and Company and their successors shall neglect or fail to provide such ships or vessels, warehouses, wharfs, quays, and other places as aforesaid contrary to the true intent spirit and meaning of the covenant or agreement last aforesaid,—then, and in such case it shall and may be lawful to and for such settler or settlers to convey such produce, goods, wares, merchandizes and commodities to and from Port Nelson aforesaid in ships or vessels belonging to them the said settler or settlers or any person or persons whomsoever (subject nevertheless to the payment of such customs or duties as aforesaid), and after and not before such settler or settlers shall have bound himself, herself or themselves, and his, her, and their Heirs, executors and administrators in a sufficient penalty, not to break bulk between the port of lading and the port of discharge, and he, she, or they shall not hereby be, or be deemed or taken to have infringed or violated any right, power, privilege, immunity, or franchise whatsoever belonging or appertaining to the said Governor

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and Company or their successors within the intent and meaning of any condition herein contained.

And also that the said Governor and Company and their successors shall and will stand possessed of and interested in all and singular the monies to be collected and raised for or in the nature of customs or duties under or by virtue of these presents, upon the trusts and to and for the intents and purposes hereinafter mentioned, that is to say;

In trust, that they the said Governor and Company and their successors do and shall from time to time and at all times hereafter pay and apply the same for and towards improving the communication by land or water from Port Nelson to Lake Winnipey, regulating and sustaining the police and civil government of the settlements or plantations within their own territories, making and erecting public courts, offices, places and buildings and for and towards all or any such other purposes as they the said Governor and Company and their successors shall or may think meet and proper and conducive to the well being of their said settlements and establishments in or at Rupert's Land aforesaid, or of the persons being settling and residing in or within the same.

And they the said Governor and Company and their successors shall and will from time to time account for such monies accordingly, it being the true intent and meaning of the said parties hereto that the said Company shall have the absolute control and expenditure of all and singular the menies arising as aforesaid, but that the same shall be considered as a fund to be employed for purposes of general benefit and improvement to their establishments and possessions in America, and not to be divided as an account of profit to the general proprietors of their stock.

1. Attached to this are copy of the certificate of the Hudson's Bay Company, shewing that peaceable possession of the lands described in their deed, was delivered to Miles Macdonell, Esq., Agent for Lord Selkirk, on the 4th September 1812, at the Forks of Red River.

2. Copy of the declaration of Thomas Aspinwall, Consul for the United States of America for London and the dependencies, dated 24th April 1889, that to all acts done, full faith and credit are and ought to be given in judicature and thereout.

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HENRY'S JOURNAL.

Mr. C. N. Bell read the following paper at the meeting of the Historical Society, held on Thursday evening, May 9th, 1889, in the society's rooms in the city hall:

The present paper is the third of a series of publications of the manuscript journal of Alexander Henry, a trader of the Northwest Fur Company. The manuscript is on deposit in the library of Parliament at Ottawa. No. 31 of this society's transactions reviews the journal for the years 1799—1801, No. 35 covers the period from 1801 to 1806 and the present deals with the occurrences of 1806-1808, and includes a discription of a trip to the Mandan villages on the Missouris River at a date subsequent to the famous visit of Catlin by twenty-four years.

In 1805 the Northwest Co. sent from Fort William to inland points 156 canoes loaded with 3,290½ pieces of merchandise and 1,771 pieces of provisions. (A piece weighed about 90 pounds, and was made up of that weight for convenience in transporting on the mens' backs across the numerous portages.)

Henry, during the summer of 1806, made a trip from his fort at Pembina to Fort Souris and thence to the Missouris river. Taking horses, he left Pembina on the 7th July and following a prairie trail, some miles west of the Red river, struck across to the "Grand Passage" of the Assiniboine about nine miles from the junction with the Red, or in other words to the ford in the present Parish of St. Charles. Camping at the "White Horse Plains" he found a well worn cart road branching off to "Lac Plat," (Shoal Lake) where a number of freemen were passing the summer. Then, as now, Shoal Lake was a favorite resort for wild fowl. Long Lake, at Baie St. Pauls, is mentioned under tne name of "Raft Lake." Arriving at Portage la Prairie post, Henry notes that there was "an excellent garden and well stocked with potatoes, carrots, corn, onions, beets, parsnips, turnips,&c., all in great forwardness and good order. Cabbages and melons do not turn out so well as at the Paubian (Pembina) river."

On the 11th of July Henry, accompanied by his men Toussant Veudrie and Joseph Ducharme, left Portage la Prairie for the Souris river, and "at nine o'clock we passed the old Fort de Tremble where formerly there was an old establishment which

WAS ATTACKED BY THE CREES

in the year 1781, when several of them were killed by the Canadians. This unfortunate affair appeared to be the opening of a plan, which the natives had in contemplation, for the total destruction of the whites throughout the Northwest country. A Mr. Bruce was master at this place. The Indians concerned were the Crees, Assiniboines and Bas de la Riviere Indians. Sixty tents were at the house at the time. The affair took place soon after the arrival of the canoes in the fall of the year 1781, while the people were still building, and, out of 21 men present, 11 hid themselves. The remaining 10 defended themselves bravely and drove off the Indians, both out of the houses and fort, and shut the gates. They however, lost three out of the ten, viz: Belleau, Tecteau and La France, and they killed 15 Indians on the spot and 15 more died afterwards of their wounds. The place was instantly abandoned, canoes loaded, and all hands embarked and drifted down to the Forks (now Winnipeg) but on the moment of their departure arrived two young Indian lads from towards Fort Dauphin (on Lake Manitoba) and being strangers here, and the Indians all fled, they requested to embark, which was allowed them. At this time there was no mention of the small pox yet, but the first day they embarked one of the young lads complained of being unwell. The people gave him the loan of a blanket to cover himself with." (For some three years after this date the small pox raged throughout the whole Northwest and thousands of the Indians died.)

At the Riviere Millieu (Middle Creek) Henry notes that "the Hair Hills advance to this place within about two miles of the river (south side Assiniboine), and with their most northerly extremity." After ascending a high hill they rested under some oak trees. "At this place we have for several years past kept up a trading establishment for the winter season; but the country at present is

ENTIRELY DESTITUTE OF BEAVER

and other good fur. You are sure of your horse only when you are on his back. The Salteaux will not steal, except rum, but the Crees, Assiniboines and Sonnants will steal anything." At the Wa-wap River, he writes, was the old Fort de Epinette. "At this place we formerly had an establishment for several years, but from the scarcity of wood, provisions, and other circumstances, the place was abandoned and was built higher up the river, where the settlement is at present, at the Riviere la Souris." Soon after the trail took them to "Montagne du Diable" (the Sand Hills), where "the sand is constantly moving eastward. There are many extraordinary stories related concerning this mountain, both by the Indians and Canadians, of the uncommon noise that has been heard in its bowels and the many apparitions that have been seen at night at one particular place." "We arrived at the establishment of Riviere La Souris which is situat.

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ed on the south side of the Assiniboine river. (Later on he states that the fort was "a few miles above the mouth of the Souris.") I was therefore under the necessity of applying to the H. B. Co. people to ferry us over, which they very willingly did. Their fort stands on the north side where indeed ours formerly stood also, but it is rather extraordinary that the gentleman of the Northwest Co. are so very fond of shifting their buildings, that a place is scarcely settled, when it is thrown up and planted elsewhere." Henry was a great mover himself, as is learned from his journal. The statement regarding the situation of the H. B. Co.'s fort at this place is clear and decisive. Most writers of Northwest history have located the H. B. Co.'s post as being on the south side of the Assiniboine. Leavving for the Missouris they took a trail to the Moose Head, touching the Souris at the junction of the Plum river. Crossing the Plum they kept on the north side of the Souris and camped for the night near the "Fort de la Frenier," (Ash House.) Travelling 42 miles next day, on the morning following they arrived at the "Bute de Sable." Finding the Souris too high to ford "our route was some miles lengthened as the river here makes a considerable bend to the Northwest." "At 6 o'clock we came to the little river of Tete a la Biche, camping on a most beautiful high hill, at the foot of which flowed the little river on our left and the Riviere la Souris on our right." Buffalo were in plenty. On the 16th July they arrived at "another little stream of the Tete a la Biche, then the Souris spreads out on the plains for 20 leagues as far as the Riviere au Soule. Left the river and went out on the plain W.S.W. At 4 p.m. crossed the Ple River which rises in the Moose Mountain, about 15 leagues west of this, flowing into the Souris below the Riviere au Soule." Farther on they found a ford of the Souris. Henry states that the Sioux Indians often ranged up from the Missouri to this place

IN SEARCH OF THE CREES

and Assiniboines. Game was very abundant; antelope, deer, buffalo and many beavers were met with.

They then pushed on for the Missouris river and arrived there at a point "opposite the Big Belly (Gros Ventre) village, which is on the Knife river about a mile from the Missouris." The Big Bellies would not ferry them over to the west side, so they went down four miles to the Mandan village, which was on their north side. On their way they noticed the little Big Belly village and the Soullier village, situated on the south side. Before reaching the Mandan village they passed through about two miles of woods and then through "several plantations of Indian corn, beans, squashes and sunflowers. The latter grow wild, but are not so good as the cultivated plants. Passed through one of their abandoned villages about a mile above the present one. Near the deserted village we saw great numbers of their dead lying exposed upon stages, about eight feet from the ground. The envelopes or coverings, which are generally of dressed leather and parchment; many of which were still very good, whilst others were decayed and nothing but the bones appeared. Others again were decaying and daily falling to the ground as the stages fell to pieces. The sight was really melancholy and cast a damp upon our spirits, which had been much enlivened by the prospect of our having reached our destination." Near the village they met a Mandan guarding a lot of women hoeing corn. He had a gun and was pleased to see them. They saw large numbers of women and children working in the cornfields and near the village they were met by "Chat Noir," the chief of the place. They were conducted to a hut "especially reserved for strangers." The horses were tied to one side of the house while they occupied the other, "this being customary." The hut in which Henry lived during his stay in the village was 90 feet in diameter (circumference?) The floor was excavated, being a foot and a half below the surrounding ground. The fireplace was in the centre, about four feet square and sunk two feet in the ground. Two holes, about four feet square, were made at two [illegible]es of the roof and

WERE COVERED WITH SKINS

when it rained. There was no other light nor chimney. The roof was thatched with willows and one foot of earth placed on top, while at the sides the wall was three or four feet thick. The door was five feet broad and six in height, with a covered way, or porch, on the outside, of the same height as the door, but seven feet broad and ten long. The doors were of raw buffalo hide stretched on frames and hung from above by cords. The doors were barricaded at night by bars. The firewood supply for the year was caught in the spring drifting down the Missouris. Long strings of dried squashes hung in the huts. The medicine post was adorned with buffalo heads well daubed over with paint. The beds were in the form of bunks running around the sides.

Many pages of the journal are filled with notes regarding the Mandans which are too lengthy to be given in this paper, but they are for the most part almost identical with the observations recorded many years after by Catlin. Some of the most striking are as follows :—

"An extraordinary circumstance struck me among these people to see several children of about ten years of age whose hair was perfectly grey and bore the resemblance of an aged person. Those I saw were all girls. The hair of these people inclines to brown and in cases almost fair. It is not coarse. It is not more than 30 years since they first saw any of us.

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(White traders ?) Their eyes are from grey to dark brown."

Their meat was often cooked by suspending it by a cord from the roof, a person sitting turning and moving it continually until cooked. They were at this time much troubled with a bad cough, which killed many of them. "This, a kind of whooping cough which has made its appearance all through the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, and even to Fort des Prairies." The weather was very warm, but the huts were cool.

Referring to the women working in the fields, Henry writes, "Their hoes are nothing more than the shoulder-blades of a buffalo, to which is fastened a crooked stick, and serves for the handle; the soil being but little interrupted by stones, renders this slight utensil of every use of a real hoe." So much cultivated land was seen that Henry remarks, "In every direction are the plantations, the whole view together had really a very agreeable appearance, and had more the appearance of a country

INHABITED BY A CIVILIZED NATION

than by a set of barbarous savages. The Soulliers are entirely distinct from Big Bellies and Mandans. They had 40 huts." The Big Bellies were also different in many respects from the Mandans. They left their summer camp in the fall and travelled about a good deal, though they cultivated corn and beans. Their burial places were the same as the Mandans, with bodies decaying and falling from the stages.

With the Mandans the corn was generally bruised or pounded in a wooden mortar "which is fixed fast and firm in the ground in one corner of the hut. This is the first work performed by the women in the morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and wash themselves in the Missouris. Their sweet corn and beans are boiled whole. They make use of large earthern pots of their own manufacture, made of a black clay, of which they have plenty near their villages. They make them of different sizes, from five gallons to one quart. In these vessels is never anything cooked of a greasy nature, every family being provided with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh in. Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those earthern pots would cause them to split. These are constantly standing by the fire, one or more of the largest kind boiling prepared corn and beans, and whoever comes in is welcome to help themselves with as much as they can eat. The bottoms of these pots are of an oblong shape. It therefore requires much care to keep them from upsetting, for which purpose, when they are put to the fire, a hole is made in the ashes to secure and keep them erect, and when taken away they are placed upon a sort of coil made of the fibres of the bois blanc. These coils or rings are made of different sizes, according to the dimensions of the several pots, which keep them firm and secure. Some of their pots are provided with two ears or handles and are more convenient than those that have none."

Prior to this time the Pawnees and Mandans, with the Big Bellies, were at peace, but were now at war continually. The Mandans used the bow and arrow for hunting buffalo. On their arrival in the village "Baptiste Lafrance made his appearance. This man had left the Riviere Souris in May, equipped by the H. B. Co. with a small assortment, for the purpose of trading. He now resides upon the south side of the river at the great Mandan village, and hearing of the arrival of white people, came over to us. He now informed the Black Cat, our kind host, who his guests were, and the cause of our visit was mere curiosity." The Black Cat then put his American flag over the hut.

A FLAG AND MEDAL

had been given to him by Captains Lewis and Clarke the year before, when they stopped there while en route to the Pacific. A lot of articles had also been left for the Indians, including an iron hand mill, which was immediately broken up to make arrow points. At the mouth of the Knife River was the little village of Big Bellies, consisting of sixty tents. On the Knife River was the large Big Belly village of 130 huts. At this place they found two Northwest Company employes, named Charles Mackenzie and James Coldwell, who were trading from the Souris fort.

Henry went with the Gros Ventres to a large camp of Schains (Cheyennes) which was situated at a distance of two days' journey. They found the Cheyennes far from friendly and had to closely watch them to prevent an attack.

Sixteen years before the date of Henry's visit (or about 1790) the Gros Ventres had been attacked by the Sioux (Tetons and Yantons) in their village, but had fought them off and, it was said, had killed 300 Sioux. Henry was shown a great pile of bones of the killed.

That corn was extensively cultivated by the Big Bellies is learned by the following: "They keep their corn in holes which contain 20 or 30 bushels. I was really surprised to see what quantities they had still upon hand and I am very confident they had a sufficient stock to serve them at least twelve months without any supply of flesh or anything else." The village was surrounded by a stockade of driftwood very much dilapidated and falling to pieces, but quickly repaired on a signal of danger being given. The Mandans, Gros Ventres and Soulliers cut off the first joint of the finger on the death of relatives or on arriving at the age of manhood. When a young man arrived at the age of twenty he went to a

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high hill and remained for several days without food or water, crying and singing. He then returned to the village and had one or more buffalo heads fastened to an arrow thrust through a strip of his skin and flesh, one head being attached for each day he remained on the hill. He then walked about the village pulling the heads, making a circuit for each day he had been absent. They also tortured themselves by thrusting arrow points under the skin, in bars, from the wrist to the shoulder. The women tatooed extensively and were vilely unchaste. Diseases that are generally understood to have been communicated to the natives by white men are declared by Henry to have been common amongst these Indians, and he states that the whites contracted them when they went there to trade.

Thirty families of Crow Indians from the Rocky Mts. arrived at the Mandan camp "with furs and slaves to trade for guns, etc., which can only be got here unless they go with the Flatheads to the Spanish settlements. The Big Bellies are not good to the Crow Indians and frown on them in their villages. Their language is nearly the same. A few Flatheads were with the Crows. The Crows are much like the Big Bellies in dress, customs, etc., and only give way to them because they have to trade for guns, etc."

Referring to the tobacco raised by the Mandans, Henry writes: "But as that herb (tobacco) is not yet arrived at proper maturity, they make use of only the blos som at present. Those are collected as necessity requires, and dried before the fire, upon a fragment of an earthen pot, and in this state it is smoked by all the natives, but I find the flowers a very poor substitute for our own tobacco, being only a mere nauseous, insipid weed. When ripe the leaf is something better, but even then it is mere trash, possessed of neither strength nor virtue."

A party of Assiniboines from Moose mountain had been trading for horses and corn in the camp, so it is evident that the Northern tribes were in communication with the Missouris river Indians.

In reference to the provisions used by the Mandans, Henry does not mention pemmican, but especially describes the food carried by travellers as

"PRINCIPALLY PARCHED CORN,

pounded into a fine flour in a mortar and then mixed up with a small portion of fat and mixed up into balls about the size of an egg. This may be eaten in its present state or mixed with water, or allowed to boil for a short time."

Leaving the Missouris on the 28th of July, the party, consisting of ten men, with twenty-five horses, made straight across the prairies to the Assiniboine at the mouth of the Souris, whence Henry proceeded to his post at Pembina, taking a trail on a direct course via the Pembina river.

The only outpost established this year in connection with the Pembina was at the Sandy Hill river. The trade at Portage la Prairie was destroyed through a fight between the Indians there. "A party of our Indian hunters from Sandy Hill river was attacked in the spring while working the beaver in the Folle Avoine (Wild Rice) river. One Indian was killed and a Canadian of the name of Charette." Nothing of interest is mentioned during the following winter or summer of 1807 until the 14th September, when "I sent off a boat for above, Wm. Henry, master, with T. Veudrie, interpreter, and seven men, to build at the Grand Fourche." This evidently was the beginning of the present rising town of Grand Forks. A few days after the Hudson's Bay Company's people followed Henry's men to Grand Forks to build a fort. A large number of "freemen," or discharged employes of the fur companies, began to enter the Red River country, where they hunted and traded. The Northwest Company in 1806-7 had posts at Portage la Prairie, under L. Dorion; Riviere au Milieu, T. Veudrie; Sandy Hill River, Wm. Henry and M. Longlais; and Pembina, A. Henry. On Dec. 15th, 1807, a young Orkney girl, who had passed as a boy in the service of the H. B. Co., went to Henry's house at Pembina and gave birth to a child. She had followed her lover from the Orkneys, and he was at that time stationed at Grand Forks.

[NOTE.—The late Mr. Donald Murray informed me that the history of this girl was well known to him and others of the early Selkirk settlers. She was at James Bay for two years, and then at Brandon House, on the Assiniboine, for some time, and was afterwards sent to the H. B. Co.'s post at Pembina. It has been claimed that the first white woman who arrived in the Red River country was a French Canadian, Madame Lajimeniere, who came to the Northwest from Three Rivers, Quebec, in 1806, but from the evidence obtained from Henry's journal, and verbal statements of Mr. Donald Murray, there can be no doubt but that this Orkney girl had been here for at least a year when Madame Lagimoniere arrived. Concealing her true sex for threee or four years, it was only revealed to one man, John Scart, until after the birth of her child, in December, 1807. She was sent home to the Orkneys, and I am informed became, with her daughter, public characters, and were known as vagrants, under the name of the "Norwesters." Mr. Murray stated "this was undoubtedly the first white woman who lived in the Red River country. I knew both Baptiste Lajimoniere and his wife, but I never before heard that it was claimed that she was the first white woman in this country."]

During the winter of 1807-8 the Saulteaux and Sioux along the Red River were continually fighting. Several of Henry's Indian hunters were killed at Grosse Isle, near the Folle Avoine River (now in Da-

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kota). In January, 1808, buffalo were killed at Pembina by men stationed at the stockades of the fort. In February, mention is again made of the people being afflicted "with a cough and cold which attacked every man, woman and child." The Indians hunted but little through fear of the Sioux. Henry had "a carriage made for the cohorn," so that we have evidence that cannon, of some description, were used by the traders at that date to

DEFEND THEIR TRADING POSTS.

Under date of 29th March the journal contains an entry throwing light on the introduction of poultry to the Red River country. "Having brought a cock and two hens in last summer from Fort William, one of the hens died last fall and the other began to lay eggs to-day." On the 11th April the Red River was clear of ice, and in May Henry notes: "Out of 12 eggs, my hen hatched 11 chickens." On May the 10th, "in the course of twenty-four hours, we caught 120 sturgeon in one net, weighing from 60 to 150 pounds each." "The drinking match commenced by my giving out a ten gallon keg of high wines gratis. During the boisson an Indian was murdered; he received fifteen stabs." A few days before a young woman had blown off her husband's head with his own gun. "Murders amongst those people are so frequent that we pay but little attention to them, the only excuse they have for such outrageous conduct is that they were drunk and foolish."

On June the 10th Henry sent off the brigade for Fort William and returned to Pembina to pass the summer, and he notes that there were great swarms of grasshoppers. The furs sent out this year from the Red River posts included 696 beavers, 161 black bears, 935 martens, 198 mink, 118 otter, 118 fishers, 46 raccoons, etc. 3,159 pounds of maple sugar were received at Pembina from its neighborhood, and Leech Lake (Minnesota). Under the heading of "Provisions destroyed (i.e. eaten) at the Pembina River, from Sept. 1st, 1807 to July 1st, 1808, by 17 men, 10 women, 14 children and 45 dogs," is given a statement of 147 buffalo weighing 63,000 pounds, 6 deer, 4 beavers, 3 swans, 1 crane, 12 geese, 36 ducks, 1,150 fish, 775 sturgeon (weighing from 50 to 150 pounds each), 410 pounds of grease, 140 pounds pounded meat, 325 bushels potatoes, and an assortment of small vegetables. The total cost of the above provisions to the Northwest Company was £54 6s. The weight in pounds of dressed buffalo are given as follows: A fat cow 600 to 700, a lean cow 300, a bull averages 550, a two-year-old heifer 200, a one-year-old calf 110. The percentage for cost of carriage to Pembina on original invoices were: Twine 45 per cent; shot and balls 26 per cent.; gun powder 90 per cent.; liquor 210 per cent., etc.

On July 20th, 1808, a note appears in the journal that a trip was made for the first time with carts on the east side of the Red River.

On July 22nd, there had been a drinking match at Pembina and the Indians were all drunk, 22 men 50 women and a large number of children. In the fort Henry had nine men. About midnight a volley was fired into the Saulteau camp by a band of Sioux. Henry had disarmed the Saulteux when their drinking match began and they now rushed to the fort and climbed the stockades, yelling and howling. The gates were opened to admit the women and children and then securely fastened, and sentinels

STATIONED IN THE BLOCKHOUSES

in the corners of the fort. On hearing the Sioux across the Pembina river consulting together, Henry loaded his cohorn with a pound of powder and thirty balls and discharged it at the spot. The Sioux immediately decamped to another place, when he again fired the cohorn at them. They then fled to a distance of about a mile and a half from the fort and endeavored to entice the occupants out. Henry would not allow any one to go, but sent the women to the river, close by, to get water to fill vessels kept in readiness for such an occasion. The Saulteaux were very anxious to fight. An hour after sunrise the Sioux fled off to the south by a road along the Red River. The Saulteaux immediately crossed the Pembina and examined the place where the Sioux had fired from in the night. They found a whip, saddle, and several pairs of shoes which had been thrown away. The whip was stained with blood. Shortly after a party of "freemen" from the Upper Pembina arrived, having luckily taken a road not usually followed, and in this way escaped the Sioux. The next morning Henry, with five Indians on horseback, started from the fort to follow the war trail for a distance to learn its direction. On the spot where they had prepared themselves for the attack in the night, and which was in full sight of the fort, about one and a half miles from it, were found "upwards of one hundred pairs of worn out shoes, scalps, and remnents of leather and buffalo skins, saddle cloths made of buffalo robes, whips, pieces of old saddles, rolls of bark that contained their war caps, bark and willow dishes, paunches and bladders of water for a journey, upwards of 100 willows stripped of their bark with a fork about the middle, and stuck into the ground. They were about six feet long, and this I am told, is for the purpose of hanging their war caps, previous to their attacking an enemy. Here we also observed a vast number of places where they had seated themselves in the long grass by twos, threes and fours, for the purpose of adjusting their war dresses. At every seat we found a quantity of swansdown colored with red earth, under which we found from one to four small stones about the

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of Manitoba

The Old Forts of Winnipeg

(1738-1927)

—BY—

CHARLES NAPIER BELL, LL.D., F.R.G.S., &c.
President of the Society

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CHARLES NAPIER BELL, L.L.D., F.R.G.S., &c.
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Author of Our Northern Waters, Henry's Journal, Historical Names and Places, The Selkirk Settlement and the Settlers, Some Selkirk Settlement History, Earliest Fur Traders on the Upper Red Lake (Minn.), Mound Builders in Manitoba, Story of a Prehistoric Copper Hook, Personal Experience as a Buffalo Hunter, 1872-3, The Red River Expedition of 1870, etc.

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The Governor of Red River sleighing on the river with Fort Douglas on the bank, from water color of about 1825.

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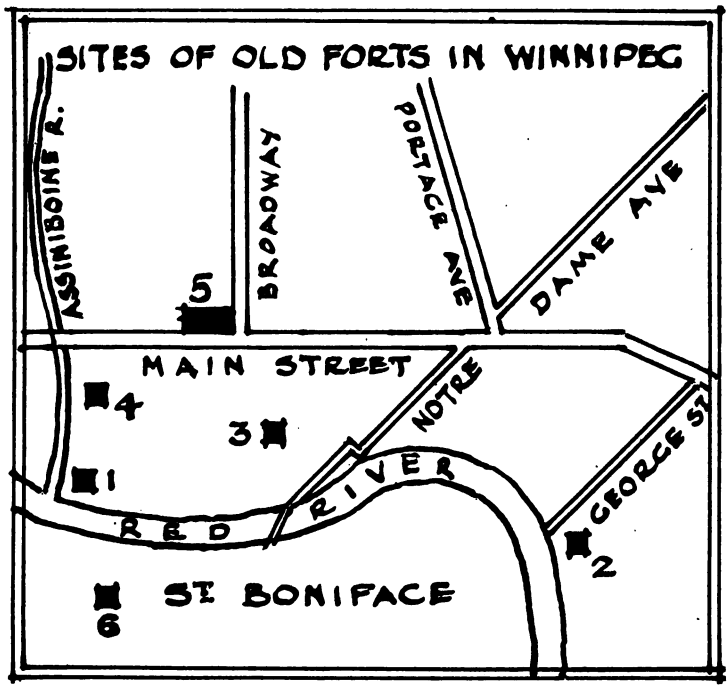

1. Mythical Fort Maurepas, 1737
Fort Rouge, 1738
Fort Legardeur de St. Pierre
Fort Bruce and Boyer, 1780
Fort Alex. Henry, 1803
Fort Gibraltar (original) 1807-16

2. Fort Douglas, 1812

3. Fidler's Fort (H. B. Co.) 1818.

4. Fort Garry the 1st (rebuilt Fort Gibraltar, 1822-35)

5. Fort Garry 2nd, 1835-1882

6. Traditional Post of H. B. Co., 1780

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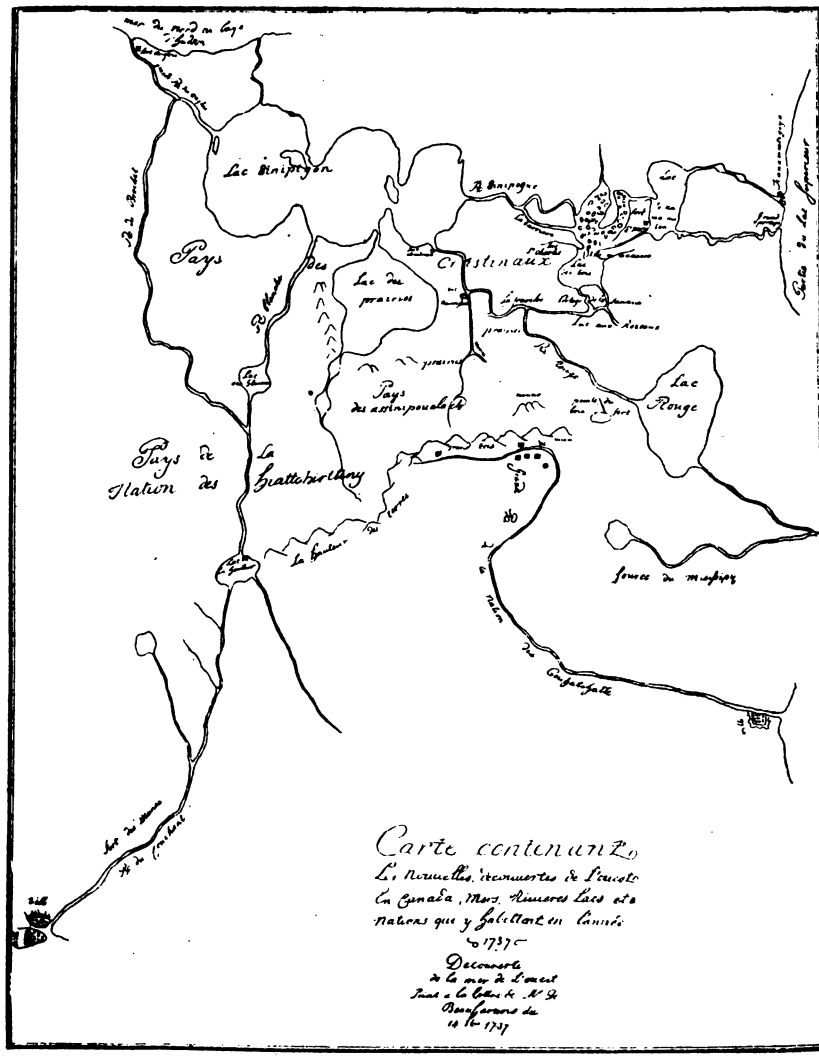

Map sent to Paris by Governor De Beauharnois in 1737, showing discoveries of Verendrye. Note Fort Maurepas at Forks of Red and Assiniboine Rivers

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(Transaction No. 3, New Series)

Winnipeg, May, 1927.

The Old Forts of Winnipeg

To the Members of the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society:

As your President, I am very frequently called upon to afford information as to some one book which gives a concise description of all the fur traders' forts, established on the site of the present City of Winnipeg, with some particulars of the cause of their establishment. I frankly confess that I have had to reply that there is no book that I know of which gives the local history of Winnipeg in the direction referred to. Consequently, in response to many requests, I am endeavouring to give, in a condensed form, what information regarding these forts I have obtained by perusal of printed and written records available to me, combined with a personal knowledge of the ground comprised in the Winnipeg area during 57 years' residence here, and many conversations and interviews had with several of the last surviving members of the original Selkirk settlers, all of whom have long since passed away. I am fully aware of my temerity in attempting such an undertaking, but can only say in explanation that I am endeavouring to give the citizens of Winnipeg some knowledge of the history of their own city, culled from many sources not available, and, in fact, unknown, to the great majority of our people. I make no excuse, however, for placing on record the facts connected with the establishing of some of the fur trading posts, or, as they were generally termed, trading forts, which have never adequately been brought into the light so that we, living in Winnipeg, can understand and appreciate some important events in our history.

I will now review, necessarily keeping within the scope of a paper of this description, the information I have gained concerning the forts of Winnipeg. It is to be always understood that in the early days of the fur trade, in Western Canada, whether under French or British occupation, practically every trading post, especially if it was protected by palisades, was called a "fort."

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FORT MAUREPAS OF THE RED RIVER

While, in general, writers on the history of Western Canada inform their readers, without reserve, that Fort Rouge was built by Verendrye, and was the first white man's post on the Red River, a matter which will, further on, be duly considered, a close study of the data available reveals the possibility at least that Jemmeraie, a nephew of Verendrye, or Verendrye's sons, in 1736, did explore the Red River from Lake Winnipeg as far as the Forks, the junction of that stream with the Assiniboine River, or even up to the Rosseau River and on to the Lake of the Woods.

There is a map (reproduced in volume 7 of the South Dakota Department of History, 1914) entitled "Carte Contenant Les Nouvelles, decouvertes de L'ouest En Canada, Mers, Rivieres, Lacs et a Nations Qui y habittant en l'Annee, 1737. Decouverte de la mer de la mer de L' ouest, Point a la lettre de Mr. De Beauharnois du 14 (Oct. ?) 1737," which for that period gives quite an excellent rough description of the actual geographic features of the Lake of the Woods, Winnipeg River, Lake Winnipeg, Red and Assiniboine Rivers, and this map, be it noted, is dated the year before Verendrye himself first visited the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. One striking feature of the map is where it shows a water connection between the southwest corner of the Lake of the Woods and the Red River by the War Road River and Rosseau River, and near the lake end of this route is clearly printed "Portage de la Savanne"; while the western connection, where the Rosseau empties into the Red River, ten miles north of the International Boundary, is marked "La fourche."

At the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, and **on the north bank of the latter,** there is printed the words "Fort Maurepas." I do not consider that there is any necessity for confusing this Fort Maurepas with the well known fort established at the mouth of the Winnipeg River under Verendrye's directions three years previously by his sons, and to which fort Jemmeraie, on his return from Montreal in 1735, proceeded. It is possible that, if it had an existence anywhere on the Red River, it was merely an outpost of Fort Maurepas. Judge Prud'homme of the St. Boniface Historical Society (1916) considers it was a temporary post located on the Red River between the present town of Selkirk and the mouth of the Red River; but still there it appears on this map as at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine. Attention is drawn to the fact that the Red River discharges into Lake Winnipeg through several channels traversing the delta, which is covered with high reeds, making a three fold "forks," and that this map of 1737 shows the words "fort abandoned" just where the river divides into several mouths. Judge Prud'homme states that when, in September, 1737, Verendrye passed from Fort Maurepas to the Assiniboine, he halted at Fort Aux Rosseaux (mouth of the Red River) and spent a short time in prayer at the cross raised to mark the resting place of the mortal remains of his nephew, **La Jemmeraie.**

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Father Morice (Catholic Church in Western Canada, 1910) makes an interesting statement: "As early as 14th October, 1737, it was intended to transfer Fort Maurepas to the Great Forks of the Red River, to facilitate navigation and commerce, (Laverendrye's Journal, as quoted by Beauharnois.) To hasten the realization of this plan the Indians "built a large fort at the Forks of the Assiniboels, therein to lodge the French." (Governor Beauharnois to the French Minister, 1st October, 1738.) Father Morice sagely comments that the native structure must not have been up to the standard of the French trading posts, for in his journal for the years 1738-39 Laverendrye states explicitly that it was Mr. de Lamarque who built a fort at the Forks for the accommodation of the people of the Red River—(See under Fort Rouge).

Like all succeeding explorers and traders Verendrye found that the Indians were tremendously long on promises and remarkably short in performance, for when he arrived at the Forks next year (1738) he found no fort and during his two days' stay there he lived in his tent. As Beauharnois wrote the Minister in 1737, it probably explains how his map drawer, in anticipation, placed Fort Maurepas on the map of that year, whereas, as a fact, it never came into existence there, and Fort Maurepas remained where it was originally located, and occupied, at the mouth of the Winnipeg River.

Judge Prud'homme, in writing of a journal of Verendrye's of 1736, states "under date of November 8th, it is related how he had sent a few men by the Savanne portage to Fort Maurepas, and across country to the Red River."

In 1736 Jemmeraie died at Fort Maurepas, the news being brought to Verendrye at Fort St. Charles, Lake of the Woods, by his son and the two men whom he had sent with Jemmeraie to hold the post at Maurepas (mouth of the Winnipeg River). They informed him of "the scarcity of food which prevailed there, having left their load of goods at the Portage of the Savanna at 20 leagues from the post where I was."

According to this map of 1737, Savanna Portage was between the Lake of the Woods and Roseau Lake, and it has been assumed that Verendrye's son and the two men returned from Maurepas to Fort St. Charles via Lake Winnipeg, the Red River, the Roseau River and Lake, and the portage to the connecting stream into the Lake of the Woods. Generally speaking, this is the sum of the information regarding the mysterious Fort Maurepas at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, in 1737, but it is possible that some further definite information may be unearthed from Verendrye's reports or journals.

It is worthy of note that Alexander Henry (the nephew), in passing up the Red River, en route from Grand Portage, Lake

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Superior, following his being given charge of the fur trading operations of the Northwest Company, on the Red River, under date of 28th August, 1800, entered in his journal, "As I knew the Indians desired me to leave people to winter about this place, and having been informed there was people at the entrance of Riviere aux Rosseaux, which was about a mile above us, I went to look for a proper place to build. I returned about sunset, having pitched upon the north side of the entrance of that river for the spot." Henry then fully describes the Roseaux River, and its drainage of Lake Roseaux, which latter was, "not many, about 25 miles, west of Lac des Bois." He further states: "While the French were in possession, they frequently passed by this route to the Assiniboine."

Tanner's narrative published in 1830, being the account of a white man who, as a child, was stolen by Indians of the Ohio, and later adopted by and lived with the Saulteur Indians, was for many years prior to and during the early days of the Selkirk settlement resident in the Red River country, and in his book specifically refers to this route. "We then returned to the Lake of the Woods. From this lake the Indians have a road, to go to Red River, which the white men never follow; this is by way of the Muskeek (Muskeg) or swamp carrying place." Tanner further describes in detail the stream connecting Roseaux Lake with the Red River. (Man. Hist. Socy. 1887).

This Roseaux route is shown, more or less outlined, on several maps, dated prior to 1800, which are in my own collection.

Whether this map of 1737 was actually drawn in its entirety at the date credited to it, or whether it was, like the so called Verendrye maps of 1740 and 1750, apparently caused to be prepared in Quebec by the Governor, from the various reports made by Verendrye, I have no data to work upon.

It must be kept in mind, when studying the subject, that there are several places along the course of the Red River, which at one time or another have been locally called "The Forks," viz. The mouths of the river at Lake Winnipeg, the junctions of the Assiniboine, the Roseaux (Modern Roseau), the Pembina and the Red Lake River (in Minnesota). Henry, in 1800, made a distinction when he always used the old French name "Grand Fourche" for the locality where the Red Lake River flowed into the Red, at the site of the present City of Grand Forks, North Dakota. This fact may possibly afford some solution of the vague and confused accounts of the exploration work performed by Verendrye's sons, using Fort Maurepas as a base, about 1736.

FORT ROUGE

It has been generally accepted, and passed on, by many writers on the subject, that Fort Rouge was built by Verendrye himself in 1738, when he made his first voyage of discovery from

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Fort Maurepas, at the mouth of the Winnipeg River, through Lake Winnipeg and up the Red and Assiniboine Rivers to the Mandans of the Missouri River. It is passing strange how readily this idea, erroneous as it is in fact, has prevailed. An authentic copy and translation of Verendrye's journal, or narrative, for the years 1738-39, is to be found, as in several other places, in the annual report of the Canadian Archives Department, 1889, and when hereafter I use the words "Verendrye's Journal," I refer, unless otherwise specifically stated, to this particular document, of which the opening paragraph is as follows:

"Journal in the form of a letter, from the 20th of July, 1738, date of my departure from Michilimakinak, to May, 1739, sent to the Marquis de Beauharnois, Commander of the Military Order of St. Louis, Governor and Lieutenant-General of the whole of New France, lands and country of Louisiana, by his very humble servant, Laverendrye, lieutenant of a company of the detachment of the Marine in Canada, commissioned by his orders for the discovery of the Western Sea."

There is not one word in this paragraph relating to trading in furs, but the journal reveals that at least one principal object of his expedition was the discovery and examination of the strange people called the Mandans, who, the Indians questioned had reported, were white men like the French, having a light complexion, blonde hair and blue eyes, and that they lived upon a great stream which flowed to the ocean.

Now, let us examine the journal itself to ascertain just what small part Verendrye himself announces he actually had in the establishment of Fort Rouge. After leaving the French fort or post at Kaministiquia on the 6th August, 1738, where "I had your orders published and left a copy with the French who keep the fort concerning that post, and that of Tekamamihouenne (Fort St. Pierre, Rainy Lake), to be handed to M. de Lamarque, who was to arrive there at an early date," he proceeded on his western journey. On the 22nd August, he was at Rainy Lake, and then went on to Fort St. Charles at the west end of the Lake of the Woods. There he writes:

"I deferred leaving until the 11th of September, waiting for Mr. de Lamarque, to whom I had promised not to hasten, so as to give him the opportunity of joining me, he having promised me at Michilimakinak to make haste, so that he might come with me in the autumn for the discovery of the Mandans. Seeing on the 10th of the month that he had not arrived, and everything being in good order, I left on the 11th, hoping that he would join me soon to come with me."

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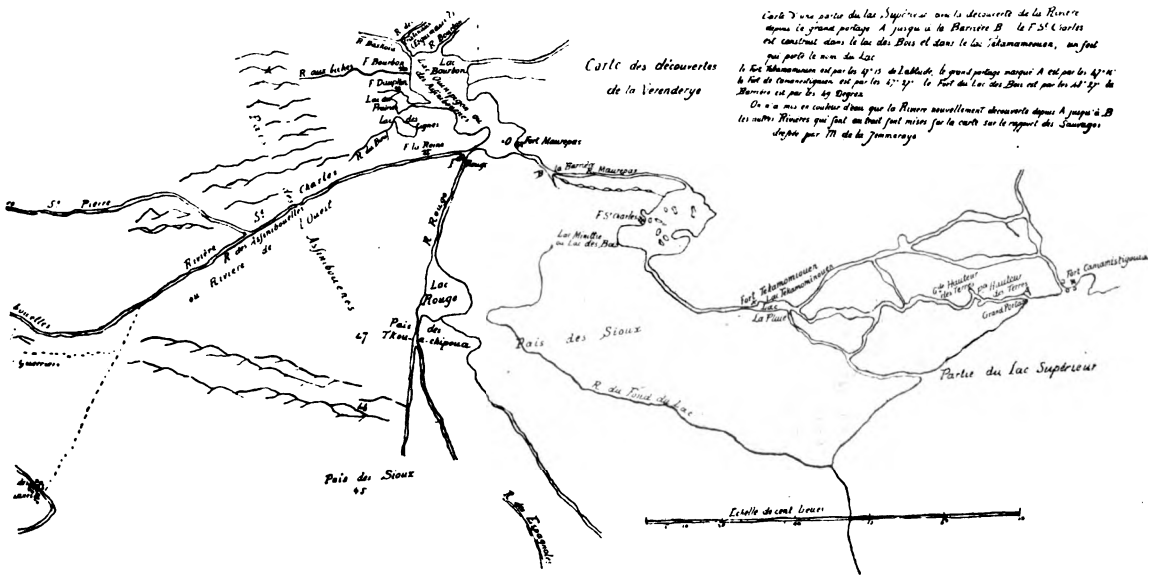

Copy of manuscript map from the Canadian Archives. As Forts Bourbon and Dauphin, etc., are shown, date must be about 1740-1. Note Fort Rouge at junction of Assiniboine with Red River.

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Verendrye arrived at Fort Maurepas, at the mouth of the Winnipeg River, on the 22nd September, where he examined the arms, published the Governor's Orders concerning the post, gave a copy of it to Mr. Lariviere (misprint in Archives copy. Should be D'Amours de Louviere), clerk to these gentlemen, (that is, to his creditors in Montreal) and selected five of his men to take with him. His next sentence is: "I went to the Fork of the Asiliboiles (Assiniboine) on the 24th. (Sept.), where I found ten Cree huts and two war chiefs, who expected me, with a quantity of meat, having been notified that I was coming."

It is somewhat strange that Verendrye gives no description of his voyage across Lake Winnipeg and up the Red River, and, as Indians were at the Forks awaiting him, it would appear that he was quite well informed on the route he had just traversed, and was in some measure at least in touch with the Assiniboine River Indians. His description of the country commences with his journey up the Assiniboine, of which river it is quite clear he previously had no personal experience. After waiting at the Forks (he says in his tent) for only two days to banquet with the Indians, he sent on the canoes up the Assiniboine, and himself proceeded on foot on the north side, and so continued until he arrived on the 2nd October at the prairie portage (now Portage la Prairie), where the Indians of that region passed north to Lake Manitoba, and so on down to conduct their trade with the English (Hudson's Bay Company's traders or posts). While avowedly desirous of ascending farther, probably to the Souris, where the regular route to the Mandan country started, as proved by the accounts of all travellers and traders after his time, he found that the stage of water in the Assiniboine was unusually low, and so could not proceed further up with his canoes. He emphasized that he had no resources to repair canoes, having neither gum nor resin, and, therefore, after careful examination of the land, he built Fort la Reine, which, for many years following, was the centre of the French operations in the western country.

The journal now informs us in express terms who did build the post, always since referred to as Fort Rouge.

"On the 9th October, Mr. de Lamarque, with the Sieur Nolant, his brother, and eight men, in two canoes, arrived, which gave me much pleasure. I testified my gratitude to Mr. de Lamarque for the trouble he had taken to bring us reinforcements. I questioned him if he had left many people at Fort St. Charles, Lake of the Woods, and whom he had left at Maurepas. He answered me that he had left eight men at the first, with two traders, having brought all the canoes he had, not because he hoped to be able to load them, not having been able to bring the heavy goods, but that he had promised he would join me, and did not wish to break his word, that I required people for my expedition, that he had brought them without injury to himself, not requiring his people during the winter. I thanked him, telling

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him that if he joined in our expedition, he would be saved, himself and all his people, the expense until they returned. He told me he wished to share the expense. I answered that that could not be, it was enough for me that he supplied the men and himself without the necessity of sharing the expense, which I had already provided for. I gave him room, at his request, in my fort, to build a house to lodge all his people. **Mr. de Lamarque told me he had brought Mr. de Louviere to the Forks, with two canoes, to build a fort there for the accommodation of the people of the Red River. I approved of it if the Indians were notified."**

There can be no doubt, in view of the above explicit statement by Verendrye himself, that it was de Lamarque who built Fort Rouge, and that his status was that of an independent gentleman (probably representing Verendrye's eastern creditors), but certainly a valued and trusted friend to Verendrye. The latter, in many places later on in his journal, refers to de Lamarque as being treated as an equal, consulted in all matters of importance, and sharing in all matters connected with their life and hardships as an intimate friend and companion. And this friendly relationship was extended also to de Lamarque's brother, the Sieur Nolant. Benj. Sulte affords the information that de Lamarque (Jean Nolant) was born in Quebec in 1694, and under his mother's name became the companion of La Verendrye.

Judge Prud'homme (St. Boniface Historical Society) is my authority for stating that in the spring of 1735 Verendrye himself wrote: "I had, before leaving (June 6, 1735) ceded to my tradesmen the privilege of trading and the business of the posts I had established, the previously interested parties having finished their term," and that this action was taken so that he could devote all his energy, untrammeled by commercial interests, to exploration.

It is foreign to the subject of Fort Rouge to make any extended comments on the expedition of Verendrye and de Lamarque from Fort la Reine to the Mandans on the Missouri, beyond stating that they were unquestionably the first white men to discover the upper Missouri and this Indian Nation, but the latter greatly disappointed the explorers, who had been hoping to find white people, possibly Spaniards, living on a great river that flowed into the "Western Sea." In the spring of 1739, after returning from the Mandan expedition to Fort la Reine, where they were very short of provisions, Mr. de Lamarque left for Fort Maurepas, at which place he heard his people were starving, and from the context of Verendrye's journal, it seems most probable that he visited his outpost at the Forks, although no specific statement to that effect is made. That one winter's occupation apparently comprises the history of the actual existence of Fort Rouge, except that it continued as a place on the maps—a printed name only.

It is to be noted that neither de Lamarque nor Verendrye in the journal names this post as "Fort Rouge," but, on the con-

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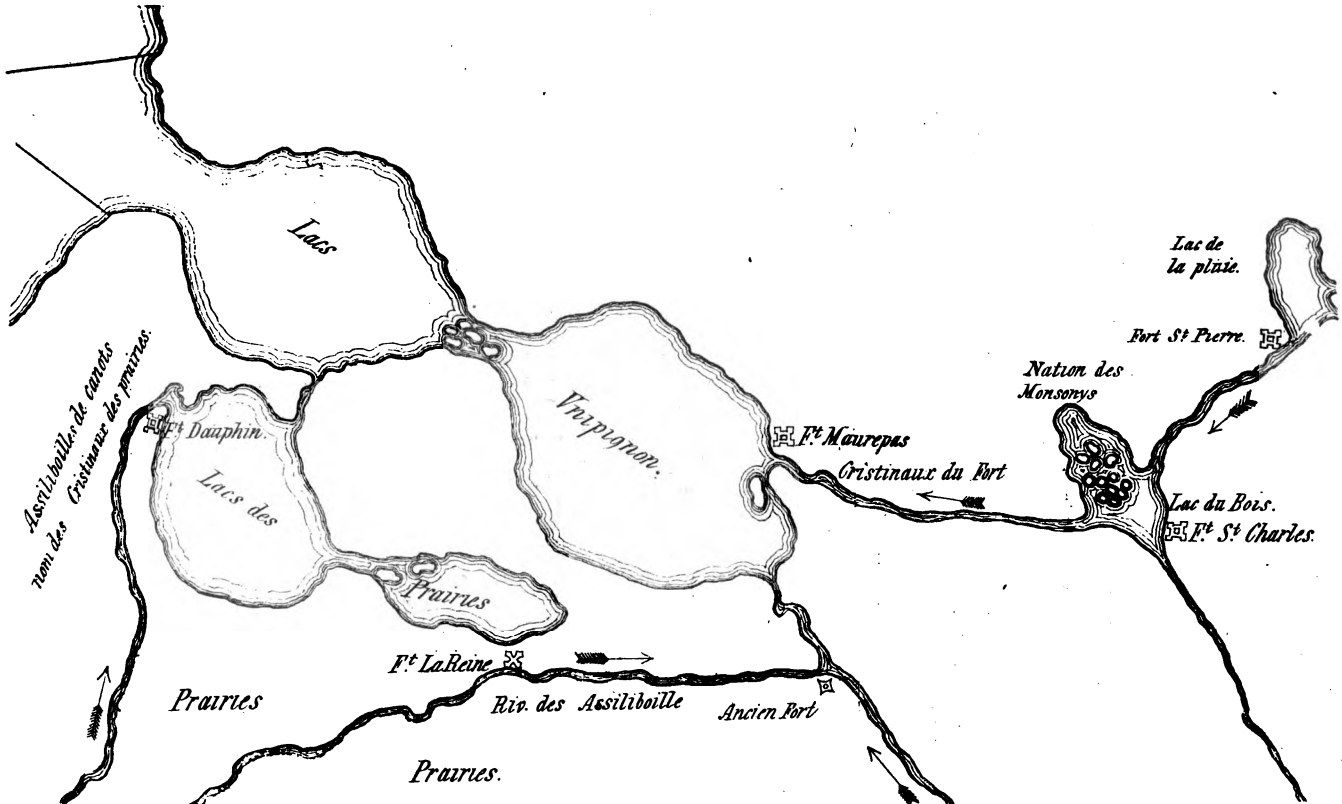

Section of map of new discoveries in the West of Canada. drawn from memoires of Mr. de la Verendrie and given to the Depot of the Marine by Mr. de la Galissoniere, 1750.

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trary, it is simply stated that de Lamarque had brought Louviere to the "Forks" to build a fort there for the accommodation of the people (Indians) of the Red River. Neither is it stated on which side of the river it was situated. It is reasonable to assume that the person who drew the 1740 map from the information supplied in the reports of Verendrye, instead of naming it Fort Riviere Rouge decided on the condensed form of Fort Rouge—the Red Fort. Certainly these explorers and traders did not paint their temporary rough barked log structures. It is significant in this connection that Verendrye both hitherto and afterwards named every fort established by him west of Lake Superior, after some high official person. Why did the individual who prepared this map for the Governor of Canada depart from Verendrye's previously invariable policy in selecting names for forts."

The only three writers who, so far as I have read, lay any stress on de Lamarque's connection with Fort Rouge, are Judge Prud'homme (St. Boniface Historical Society, 1916), De Land (State Dept. of History South Dakota, 1914) and Morice (Catholic Church in Western Canada, 1910).

Out of the multitude of books written on Verendrye's journeys, I refer to but two of the more ambitious to illustrate how the main feature of who was responsible for the building of Fort Rouge was completely overlooked. Dr. Bryce (Five Forts of Winnipeg, 1886) does not mention de Lamarque, and apparently never heard of him. Burpee (The Search for the Western Seas, 1908) merely refers to de Lamarque as a trader taken by Verendrye with him on the Mandan expedition. But then Burpee on two pages preceding had written that it was the two sons of Verendrye who had built both Fort Rouge and Fort La Reine, and this two years before these forts came into existence, which is just another illustration of the danger of relying on second hand authorities when the original documents are available.

The name "Fort Rouge" appears on a map, dated 1740, which, admittedly, was prepared by the Governor of New France from the information contained in Verendrye's journals, and, as thereon the Assiniboine and Red Rivers are shown as running almost parallel for a considerable distance before joining, and thus becoming the "Forks," it was quite natural for the compiler, whoever he was, to assume that the fort was placed in the immediate angle formed by the junction of the two rivers, but to anyone cognizant of the topography of the land on both sides of the Assiniboine River at the Forks, (the south side being relatively very low, subject to spring floods, heavily covered with willows and small trees, and quite open to attack by the fierce and hostile Sioux, who had already killed Verendrye's son, a priest, and nineteen of his men near Fort St. Charles, while the north bank was and still is much higher, and, in fact, the edge of a large prairie area extending both north and west, with a shallow line of heavy timber reaching back from the banks of both streams), common

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sense would dictate that the side to build on was the north bank, which naturally and invariably afterwards was chosen by the French and British traders for camping ground and building site purposes. Indeed, fortunately, we have evidence regarding the site of Fort Rouge.

Alexander Henry (the nephew) arrived at the Forks in 1800, and his journal, written while in camp on the north bank of the Assiniboine, under date of August 19th, contains the following entry:—"Upon this spot, in the time of the French, there was a trading establishment, traces of which are still to be seen where their chimneys and cellars stood." Henry gives a number of descriptions of his camp site, which quite conclusively prove that he was on the spot where Fort Rouge stood. (See also evidence of John McDonnell in 1793 under "Fort Bruce and Boyer, following). For fully 60 years after de Lamarque erected this fort, which, so far as is known, existed only during the winter of 1738-9, the name "Fort Rouge" appeared on many different European maps, British, French, Dutch and Italian, as if the fort was still in existence. It is curious how that name stuck in the minds of map makers, who copied it one from the other, long after the French had withdrawn from the western country, and even after the occupation of the territory by the British traders from Montreal. An impartial study of the ascertained facts must convince any student that Lamarque built the Fort Rouge post, that it was in existence for probably only one winter, and that it was on the north bank of the Assiniboine River at the Forks. That McDonnell, and afterwards, Henry, at least 50 years after Fort Rouge passed out of existence, should recognize the remains of the post, is quite within the understanding of men like Mr. J. B. Tyrrell (who edited the Champlain Society's Vol. of Thompson), who has located, and even photographed, the remains of many trading posts which had existed nearly a century before. Some forty years ago, I myself, located the ruins of old trading posts, which were erected eighty or more years previously, near the mouth of Souris River, and easily identified the sites by the cellar hollows and scattered chimney materials, and, in cases, the outline of the enclosing stockades could be traced. Also when in 1872-3, as a youth of eighteen years of age, I travelled and hunted in the North Saskatchewan country and far down south into the buffalo areas, my half-breed companions pointed out to me the easily discernable sites of traders' posts erected three-quarters of a century before. Sir Alexander Mackenzie recorded that before 1800 the marks of wheeled carriages and agricultural implements were visible about the old posts of the early French traders situated on the Saskatchewan River below the forks of that river.

LEGARDEUR DE SAINT-PIERRE'S FORT

Legardeur de St. Pierre (whose journal or report is in the Canadian Archives report, 1887) in 1750 was appointed by the authorities in Quebec to succeed Verendrye, in charge of the western posts, and arrived, with his Lieutenant de Niverville, at

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Fort Maurepas, situated at the mouth of the Winnipeg River, but the season was so far advanced that it was impossible for de Niverville to travel by canoe to Fort Bourbon on the Saskatchewan River, (his destination) and he and his men were forced to proceed overland on foot from the mouth of the river, carrying their baggage and provisions on their backs or dragging them on small sleds. Finding no provisions at Fort Bourbon, they were exposed to starvation, and passed the winter miserably in a state of famine. M. de St. Pierre reached Verendrye's Fort La Reine on the Assiniboine, which, having been abandoned since the departure of that explorer and his sons, was delapidated and devoid of provisions. His report informs us that he started north to join de Niverville, who had become seriously ill, but turned back and did nothing further during the summer of 1751. During the winter of 1751-1752, de St. Pierre had quite an exciting adventure at Fort La Reine. On the 22nd February, he was in the fort with five Frenchmen, having sent the rest of his men out to secure provisions, which he had been without for some days, when 200 armed Assiniboines came into the fort, became very turbulent, and announced to the interpreter that they wanted to pillage the place and kill St. Pierre. The latter no sooner learned of their intention than he seized hold of a burning brand, burst open the door of the powder magazine, and smashed in the head of a barrel of powder, over which he waved the burning torch, which the Indians no sooner beheld than they, in great fear and consternation, fled out of the fort.

After spending the winter of 1751-2 at Fort La Reine, de St. Pierre in the spring left with all his men for Grand Portage, Lake Superior. The adventure of February had so frightened his employees that none of them would consent to remain during the summer to take care of the fort, so he asked the Indians to do so. However, while travelling down the Winnipeg River on his return voyage from Grand Portage, he was informed on the 29th September that four days after his departure from Fort La Reine, the Assiniboine Indians had burned it to the ground. This information, combined with the scarcity of provisions he found prevailing, obliged him to go to spend the winter at the Red River, where game was abundant. At just what point on the Red River he wintered he does not state, but most likely it was at the stragetic "Forks," and, with his experience of the turbulent Assiniboines, he undoubtedly erected the customary stockaded protection for his winter houses. (See under Fort Bruce and Boyer).

It would appear, then, that once again there was a fort, occupied but for one winter, at the Forks, and within the limits of the present City of Winnipeg.

St. Pierre was succeeded in 1753 by the Chevalier de la Corne, who caused to be built a fort below the juncture of the two branches of the Saskatchewan River, and named it Fort La Corne,

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which name was recognized by the first British Montreal Traders, and has continued for that place to the present day. In 1756 all the western posts were abandoned by the French, whose regime west of Lake Superior terminated.

FORT BRUCE AND BOYER

A partner of the Northwest Company, John McDonnell, while serving in the interests of his company on the Assiniboine and Qu'Appelle Rivers, in 1793-5, kept a quite complete journal, extracts from which are included in Masson's Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Quest. Writing of the old French forts of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, he placed the following information on record: "At the Forks, the remains of several old posts are still to be seen, some of which were built as far back as the time of the French Government"; and again—"three leagues above Portage la Prairie stood Le Fort des Trembles, or Poplar Fort. In the year 1780 or 1781, the Indians made an attempt to pillage the traders, Bessrs. Bruce and Boyer, and, in the scuffle that ensued, two Frenchmen and seven Indians were killed upon the spot. Owing to this affair, the traders were obliged, for fear of being cut off, to re-embark their canoes and return to winter at the Forks. The smallpox seizing the natives, and sweeping off three-fourths of them, compelled them to lay aside their intention of cutting off all the white men in the interior country."

This is a definite statement, afterwards in all essentials coroborated by Alex. Henry (nephew) in 1806, that a fort was in existence at The Forks in 1781. Sir Alexander MacKenzie in his book makes a short reference to the fight at Fort des Trembles, but says nothing of the traders' retreat to The Forks.

It is not clear from any of the accounts whether Bruce and Boyer were employees of one of the large trading concerns antedating the formation of the Northwest Company, or independent traders from Lake Superior. Boyer certainly was in the employ of the Northwest Company in 1787, when he was sent to the Peace River by Sir Alex. MacKenzie to establish a fort, and remained there for two years. Of Bruce nothing further seems to be on record.

In view of the fighting that had taken place, it may be safely assumed that Bruce and Boyer, with nearly a score of men, had their post well protected in case of an Indian attack. John McDonnell's statement, that in 1793 the remains of several old posts were still visible, which had been in existence during the French regime and before the British traders from Montreal had reached the Forks is, like the evidence of Henry in 1800, valuable as locating where Louviere in 1738, and likely St. Pierre in 1753, had each passed at least one winter on the north bank of the Assiniboine, where the latter stream merges with the Red River. It is especially valuable as a record that this post of Bruce and Boyer was the first fort we know of as built at the Forks by British traders following the close of the old French regime.

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ALEXANDER HENRY'S "THE FORK'S FORT."

Alexander Henry (the nephew) a partner of the North West Company, left us a journal, which includes a lengthy account of his life on the Red River during the years 1800-8. I was fortunate enough to discover this journal in the Library of Parliament at Ottawa in 1887, and extracts from it form the substance of three papers read before the Manitoba Historical Society in 1888 (Transactions Nos. 31, 35 and 37), or nine years before the talented Dr. Elliot Coues published it in full with such extensive and wonderfully explanatory notes in three volumes under the title of "New Light on the Early History of the Great North West." Henry, on September 27th, 1803, established, as an outpost of his main trading fort at Pembina, a small trading post at the Forks, under the charge of one Louis Dorion. Henry, under date of January 19th, 1804, recorded that he visited this post for inspection, and found Dorion practically starving through lack of provisions; and about two weeks later, on reaching this establishment for the second time, found his men starving, as were also his people at Portage la Prairie. As a consequence of Dorion's experience, the post was discontinued the following year, and so another "fort" at the Forks disappeared.

It is interesting to have a record of the furs that Dorion, in conjunction with another outpost, existing at the same time, at the Dead River (now Nettley Creek), secured in trade for the North West Company. The list includes: 350 beavers, 24 black bears, 16 brown bears, 52 fishers, 35 otters, 200 martens, 146 wolverines and 700 muskrats, and a considerable mixed lot of other furs.

All the traders, who have left us journals describing their life and movements in the Red and Assiniboine rivers country, give more or less extensive notes regarding the Forks, which was the rendezvous where the brigades of canoes and boats, arriving from both Lake Superior and James Bay, re-sorted their trading goods to fill the assignments destined for the various posts and outposts scattered along both rivers up into the interior. Winnipeg's status as a distributing centre certainly dates from this period.

In Henry's journal we get a sidelight into the customs which prevailed at The Forks in 1806, when it is related that Henry, returning from an inspection of his post at Portage la Prairie to take to Fort William his brigade of boats laden with the winter's trade of furs at Grand Forks and Pembina and their outposts, joined his men at The Forks, and on the 4th June "played with J. McKenzie of the H. B. Co., with drum, fife, etc., and drank out a ten gallon keg of brandy." It is to be hoped that the brandy was the diluted article called "trade liquor," but in any case both parties were able to leave next day en route for Albany House on James Bay, and Fort William, Lake Superior.

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FORT GIBRALTAR

The autobiographical notes of John McDonald of Garth, a partner of the North West Company, which are to be found in Masson's Volume 2, under date of 1807, contain the following passage:—

"I established a fort at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, and called it "Gibraltar," though there was not a rock or stone within three miles."

Thus was established Fort Gibraltar, the headquarters of not only the fur trade of the North West Company on the Red, Assiniboine and Qu'Appelle Rivers, and country adjacent to these streams, but of the operations of that company against the Hudson's Bay Company, following the establishment of the Selkirk Colony, which came into existence in 1812, with the arrival of the first contingent of Selkirk settlers.

Fort Gibraltar was erected on the north side of the Assiniboine River, where that stream joins the Red River, and extended somewhat along the bank of the latter. In the year 1871, following my service as a soldier of the Red River expedition, under General Wolseley, which reached Fort Garry in 1870 via the old fur traders' route from Lake Superior to Winnipeg, in company with my friend Corporal (afterwards General) Sam B. Steele, I took a walk down the Assiniboine from Fort Garry a few hundred yards to the traditional site of Fort Gibraltar, and there, plainly to be seen very near to the edge of the bank, were recognizable hollows representing cellars, and the mixture of semi-calcined limestone, remains of chimneys, and while at that time we were rather hazy on the subject of the history of Fort Gibraltar, it was clear to us that buildings of some kind had been on that ground, though it was also evident that almost the whole area of the enclosure that had once been there had disappeared into the river through the washing away and crumbling in of the banks. Steele drew to my attention several much decayed human bones and one skull close to the water's edge, which had apparently rolled down from near the general ground level of the bank through undermining by the heavy spring flood. (Henry in 1800 refers to the extensive Indian grave yard hereabouts). I am quite satisfied that the hollows and chimney debris which we then saw were the last remains of Fort Gibraltar.

I visited, and carefully inspected this site this present month, and found that if not in the two rivers, what remains of it is now buried many feet under the cinders and general refuse of the railway yard of the Canadian National.

It is not necessary for me, in connection with Fort Gibraltar, to give any details of its history after the arrival of the first Selkirk settlers, because the history of that period has been fully covered, not only by the published statements of the North West

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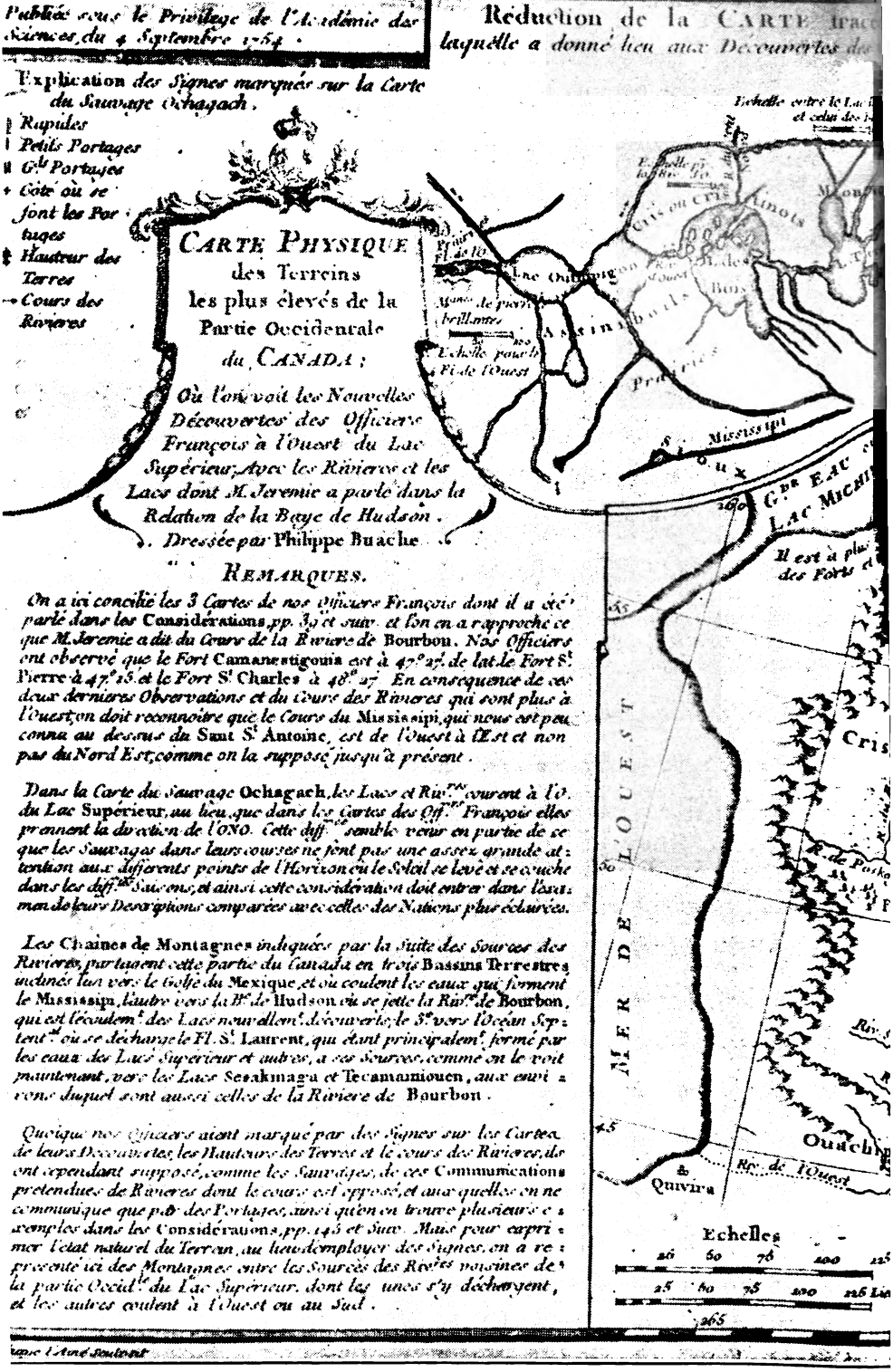
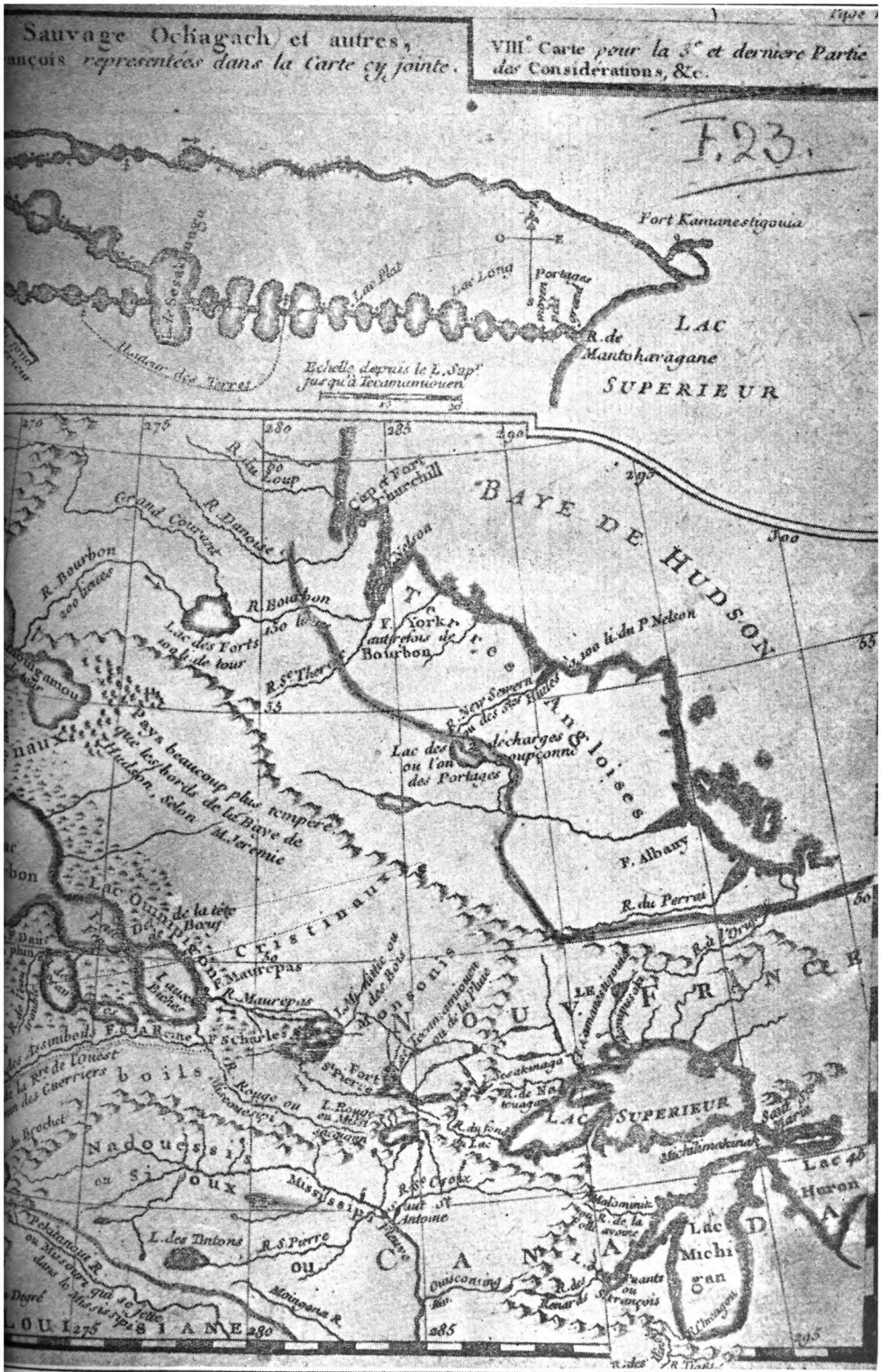


Phillippe Buache, Paris, 4th Sept., 1754. The top insertion is an improved map of the origi
inspired him to explore west of Lake Sup



on birch bark about 1728 for Verendrye, at Lake Superior by the Indian Ochagach, and w
e that Fort Rouge has already disappeared.

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Second Fort Gibraltar (rebuilding). From water color in Dominion Archives. Painted in 1821. By courtesy Mr. H. S. Seaman.

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Company, the Hudson's Bay Company, and Lord Selkirk's Colony Officials, but by a multitude of writers, who have written everything from fact to fiction regarding the aggressive acts of the two companies which took place at that time, culminating on the 17th March, 1816, in the destruction by the order of the Selkirk Colony Governor Semple of Fort Gibraltar, during the absense of the partner in charge, when even the material of the fort was pulled down, floated by the river to Fort Douglas, nearly a mile below, and used to strengthen the Colony Fort; and shortly after in the killing of Semple, the Colony Governor, and a number of his followers by employees of the Northwest Company on the site known as Seven Oaks, in the northern part of Winnipeg. As a result of this clashing of interests, Colonel Coltman was sent by the Governor-General of Canada as commissioner to inquire into the whole facts of the situation, and following this lamentable state of affairs, which almost financially ruined both companies, the rival interests came together and amalgamated under the charter name of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Whether Fort Gibraltar was re-erected by the Northwest Company in 1816 has been somewhat a matter of conjecture. Beckles Willson in "The Great Company," states that "Fort Gibraltar had been destroyed, but the Northwester's at once set about erecting buildings to carry on their trade."

Hon. Donald Gunn, for years following the year 1813, in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, finally settling in the Red Rivel Colony, in his book "History of Manitoba," wrote as follows: "The Northwest Company's fort had been razed to the ground and could not be restored; but that active and energetic body procured new materials, built new houses and stores on the old site, and commenced business anew."

Donald Gunn lived until 1878, highly respected not only for his lovable personal qualities, but as well for the services he rendered as a veteran and valued correspondent of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington.

It is to be noted that Gunn, while mentioning houses and stores, does not include palisades or walls, but Ross in 1825 (see under heading "Fort Garry, the First") draws particular attention tion to the absence of any defensive enclosure except two wooden bastions of the renamed fort.

The Rev. John West sent to the Red River Settlement from England in 1920 as Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company, under date of the 11th Nov., 1821, wrote that he was "greatly disappointed at not having the building (schoolhouse) so far finished as to have accommodated the schoolmaster with a residence, as well as to have afforded a place for divine worship before this period. He is now resident with the Indian boys at the post which formerly belonged to the Northwest Company."

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That the Hudson's Bay Company immediately after the amalgamation did do business in a fort at the Forks is also proved by the recorded evidence of eye witnesses like Donald Murray (see statement under Fidler's Fort), for the stores of the company at Fort Douglas were closed. (Also see statement of marriage entry in St. John's Church under the heading of "Fort Garry").

FORT DOUGLAS

There was in the early days of the Red River Settlement a floating tradition that the Hudson's Bay Company at one time had a post or fort on the east bank of the Red River, opposite the mouth of the Assiniboine, in what is now St. Boniface, but I have not been able to obtain much information relating to it, and it must have had a very transitory existence.__It is true that Arrowsmith's map of the "Interior Parts of North America," which was inscribed by permission to the Hon. Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into the Hudson's Bay, and dated January 1st, 1796, shows that a house was on that site in 1780, but gives no indication as to wether or not it was a Hudson's Bay Company's establishment. I have not come across any definite claim that such a post was established by the Northwest Company, and it is generally accepted that Fort Douglas, erected on the north side of a small coulee, emptying into the Red River, at the foot of what is now Robert and George Avenues, in the City of Winnipeg (I found the coulee outlet through the river bank to be easily discerned as late as this month) was the first Hudson's Bay Company's fort established in the Winnipeg area, and this fort was not only utilized for the stores of the company, but was the official headquarters and residence of the Governor of the Selkirk Colony after the arrival of the settlers in 1812. Fort Douglas, therefore, became the centre of the Hudson's Bay Company's and Red River settlement interests. After the Seven Oaks conflict in 1816, it was temporarily occuped by the officers and employees of the Northwest Company, their own Fort Gibralter having been previously destroyed by the order of Semple, the Colony Governor.

The detailed history of Fort Douglas, like that of Fort Gibralter, is so fully covered in the Government reports of the day, and books of many writers, more or less accurate or colored, according to the prejudices of their writers, and which may be obtained in any good Canadian library, that I need not further dilate on the subject.

After the conflicts, Fort Douglas continued to be the residence of the Colony Governor as apart from the Hudson's Bay Company, and one of these, Andrew Bulgar, writing under date of August 4th, 1822, gives a shocking description of the place. His words are: "As to what is styled Fort Douglas. It is well situated, though there is a better position for a fort about 200 yards higher up, upon the land which Mr. Pritchard gave up. But as to the fort itself, it is, as Mr. Halkett can tell you, the most filthy,

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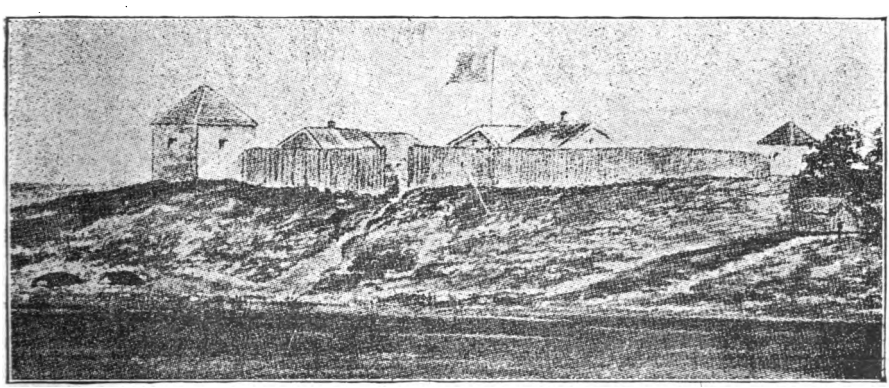
miserable place imaginable. It is by at least 25 feet too small, and the stockades are for the most part rotten and tumbling down. The buildings, except one, are mere log huts, very old and so full of holes as to be perfectly unsuitable. The only one that is of any value is what is called the new house, but even this is nothing more than the shell of a badly built log house, being nowhere boarded outside, and having but two rooms finished inside, and so badly have these been done that the light may be seen through the walls in many places."

I regret that while I secured possession of a large number of letters and documents of that period, which would be very valuable in connection with a description of Fort Douglas, at his request I, many years ago, surrendered all these papers to the late Lord Strathcona, and they are no longer available as historical matter. It so chances, however, that I have in my possession the original official file of the copies of various documents relating to the Red River Settlement, which was given to Captain Robert Parker Pelly as "Governor of Ossiniboia" on his departure from London, 21st May, 1823. When either of the governors of the General Territory of the Hudson's Bay Company was present, the power of the Governor of Ossiniboia was suspended for the time being for judicial purposes.

After the re-purchase from the Selkirk estate of his rights under the original deed of sale, the governors came strictly under the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company itself.

The end of Fort Douglas came with the high waters of what is locally called the great flood of 1826, when the people of the settlement were forced to flee from their homes and take refuge for a time on the high grounds of Bird's Hill or Stoney Mountain.



Fort Douglas. From water color by Lord Selkirk, 1817.

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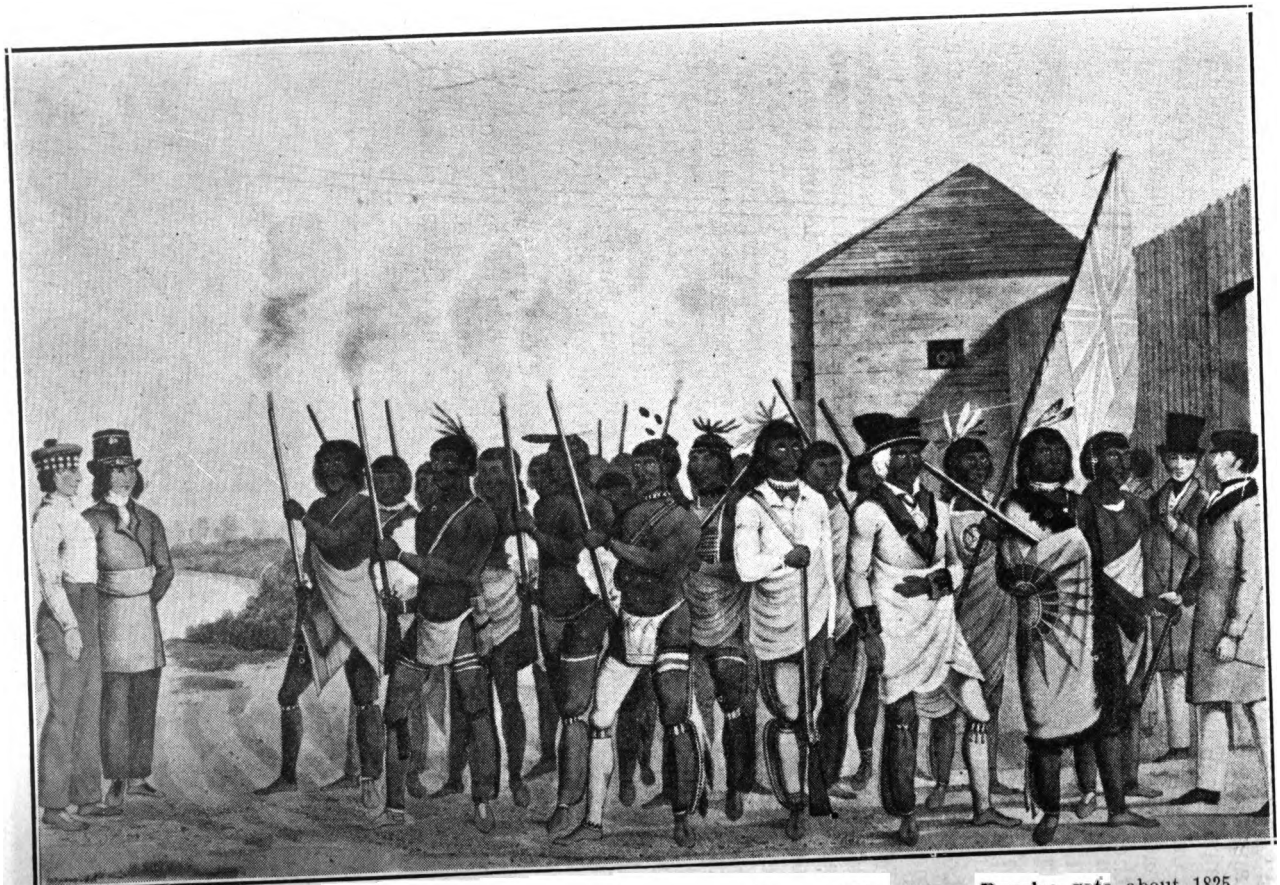

R. P. Pelly, Governor of Assiniboia, meeting band of Red Lake Indians outside of Fort Douglas gate about 1825.

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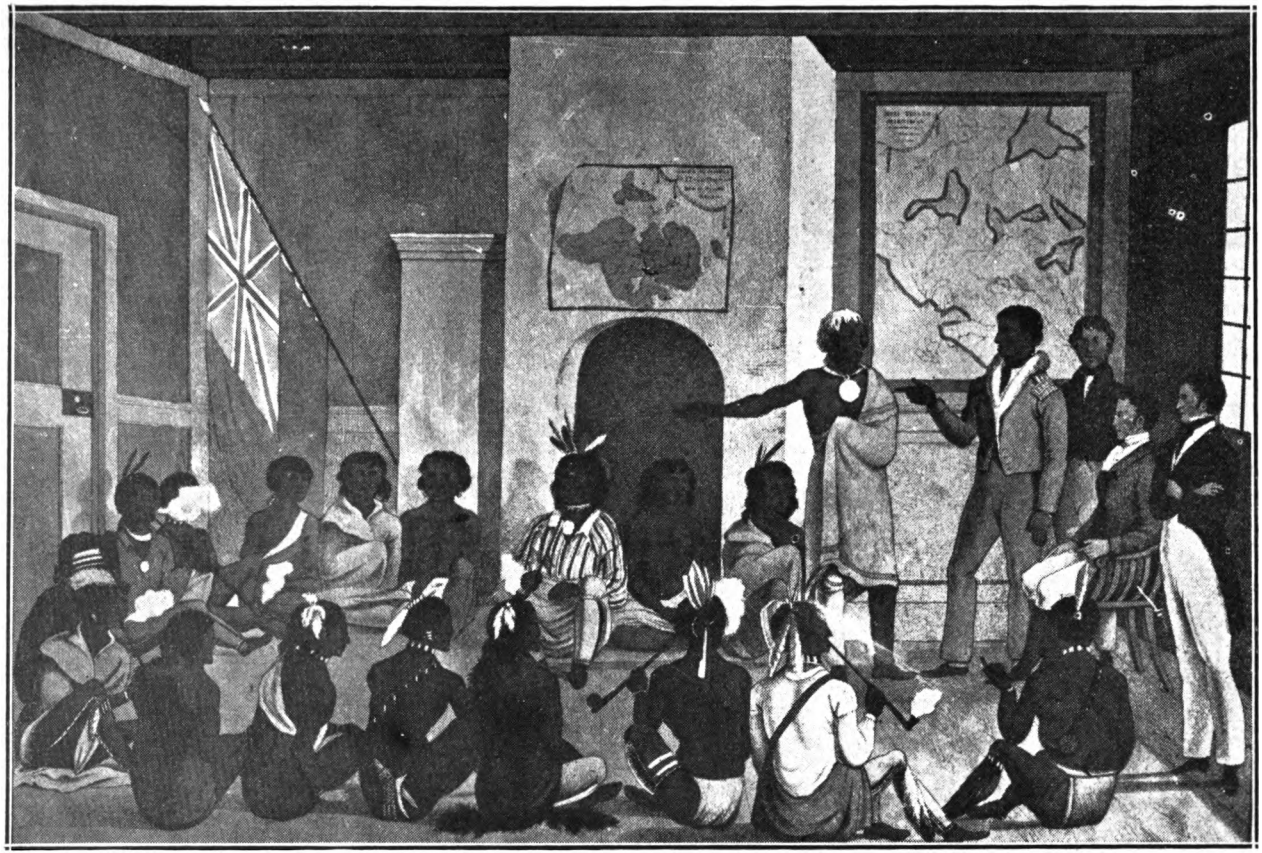

Selkirk Colony. Governor Dallas receiving band of Salteux Indians in Fort Douglas. From water color sketch, 1823

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FIDLER'S FORT

In the year 1887 I interviewed Donald Murray, George Bannerman, John Matheson, John Polson and Mrs. Kaufman, all survivors of the original Selkirk Colony, who were old enough at the time of their arrival in 1812-15 to remember the events that transpired in connection with the disputes and local occurrences resulting from the conflict between the rival interests of the Northwest Company, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Selkirk Colony Government. The evidence of these survivors, bearing on a number of matters not hitherto recorded, is contained in my work "The Selkirk Settlement and the Settlers," 1887. Evidence of the fort building activities of the two companies following the conflict of 1816 is very meagre, hence the great value of the statements obtained from persons who were residents of this locality during that period.

Mr. Donald Murray, long since deceased, was in that year a wonderfully clear minded and physically active old gentleman, and the information which he afforded me, endorsed by the other survivors, when checked where possible by the official documents of the period, agreed in almost every detail. Mr. Murray, who was born at Kildonan, Sutherlandshire, Scotland, in or about the year 1801, came to the Red River in 1815 with Lord Selkirk's fourth party of colonists, and lived there until his death, consequently he was a participant in, or eye witness of, most of the events and exciting times of what are commonly termed "the Colony troubles."

In connection with the forts at the mouth of the Red River, Mr. Murray said, his words being taken down in writing at the time and read over to him at the close of the interview:

"The Northwest Company's fort was called "Gibraltar," and stood on the Assiniboine point, at the mouth of that river, but it has now gone into the river a good many years, I think. I do not know of any traces of any earlier fort known as Fort Rouge. The Hudson's Bay Company, however, had a fort which stood close to where Notre Dame Street, East, is now. This was the fort which Dr. Bryce was unable to locate when he wrote his book about the old forts. This fort was built by Peter Fidler about 1817-18, but he went to Brandon House in the latter year, and it was first occupied by one James Sutherland, who finished it in 1819. As nearly as I can now locate its position, it was situated between what is at present McDermot Ave. and Notre Dame St. East, but perhaps nearer Notre Dame than the other. It was near the rise in the ground, and a few hundred yards from the Red River. It was about square, the principal entrance facing exactly to the point between the two rivers. At the farther end, opposite to this gate, stood the master's house, which was larger than the others, which ranged down each side of the palisaded enclosure, about four on each side, but I do not remember exactly how many there were. There was a walk between them and the palisades, and an

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Interior Red River Colony settler's house. Swiss woman, man and children. A De Meuron soldier of Lord Selkirk, a Scotch settler, a French-Canadian. From water color by Swiss colonist about 1823.

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open courtyard in the centre. (I still have the plan Mr. Murray drew for me of the fort. (C.N.B.) I often slept in this fort, and in 1818, when I went to Brandon House, I started from it. I do not recall that it had any particular name other than "the Company's Fort." It was quite distinct from the later Fort Garry, and stood at the same time as Forts Douglas and Gibraltar. I forget just when it disappeared, but it probably stood until the flood of 1826, and was then swept away, like the remains of Fort Douglas, then owned by Mr. Logan. If you doubt that this fort was there, just find out about a marriage ceremony I was at in it. I was the only guest from the colony invited, when the following persons were married by the Rev. John West: James Bird, the chief factor, to a daughter of Thomas Thomas; Thos. Thomas, a retired chief factor, to Miss Monture; and Jos. Bird, a son of James, to a Swamp Cree woman."

(Note: I personally examined the marriage register kept by the Rev. John West, still preserved in St. John's Cathedral, Winnipeg, and the above three entries show on the record, and are dated as at Red River Colony, C.N.B.)

It is, I think, certain that Mr. Murray's statement is in strict accord with the fact, and that there was a fort, the existence of which has been lost sight of, built by the Hudson's Bay Company as apart from their then dilapidated Fort Douglas.

Mr. Murray also made the following statement:

"Fort Garry (the First) for years was only called "the Company's Fort" by the settlers, and it was not until the last fort was erected that it was regularly called Fort Garry, though, of course, that was its proper name for years before."

"The Hudson's Bay Company used an old building that stood about two or three hundred yards north of Fort Gibralter as a stable. That was after the companies joined. I do not know if they ever had a fort there before, but they used that old building as a stable when they moved out, and occupied the Northwest Company's fort about 1821. Before we came to the country, the Hudson's Bay Company had a store on the east bank of the Red River, opposite to the mouth of the Assiniboine, I think on the property where Mr. Norman Kittson (a man afterwards most prominent in the affairs of Minnesota, especially of St. Paul), later had his trading store. The company may have had a fort there, but I only know for a fact that they had some kind of a store."

THE FIRST FORT GARRY

The Hudson's Bay post, named Fort Garry, after the amalgamation, certainly was the rebuilt old Fort Gibraltar of the Northwest Company, and though, after it first occupation, it was simply known as the Company's Fort, or the Forks, it was finally designated as Fort Garry, and in this connection it is interesting to note that on an occasion in the year 1887, when consulting the old

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register of births, marriages and deaths of St. John's Church, Winnipeg, I came across an entry under date of April 18th, 1822, of the solemnization of a marriage, with George Simpson (afterwards Sir George) attesting as witness, at "Fort Gibraltar," the next following six entries being of marriages at "Fort Garry," one of which was also witnessed by Simpson, while a star was placed opposite the first above mentioned entry, drawing attention to a footnote, which reads "Fort Gibraltar is now named Fort Garry." Without doubt on that date Simpson changed the name to remove all feeling of resentment still existing amongst the Northwestern element with the occupation of the place by the Hudson's Bay Company.

Nicholas Garry, a member of the Hudson's Bay Company's Council, after whom the fort was named, visited the settlement about this date, his name afterwards appearing, with that of Simpson, as witness to a marriage at Norway House, Lake Winnipeg, on the 12th August, 1821.

That the First Fort Garry was a good deal of a ramshackle place is described by Alexander Ross in his "Fur Hunters of the Far West" (1855). Ross, on his arrival at the Red River from British Columbia via the fur traders' overland route, in 1825, rode up on horseback from below the present Selkirk to Fort Garry, reaching the fort on the evening of the 2nd July, and described it in the following words: "I was anxious to see the place, I had heard so much about it, but I must confess I felt disappointed. Instead of a place walled and fortified, as I had expected, I saw nothing but a few wooden houses huddled together, without palisades, or any regard to taste or even comfort. To this cluster of huts were, however, appended two long bastions in the same style as the other buildings.

These buildings, according to the custom of the country, were used as dwellings and warehouses for the carrying on of the trade of the place. Nor was the Governor's residence anything more in its outward appearance than the cottage of a humble farmer, who might be able to spend fifty pounds a year. These, however, were evidences of the settled and tranquil state of the country."

This fort was occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company as their headquarters, apart from the business of the Selkirk Colony as such, and with successive Governors until the appointment of Alexander Christie in 1835, who, in that year, began the erection of the Second Fort Garry, known to the present generation, of which the rear gateway now stands in the small Fort Garry Park which extends through from Main Street to Fort Street, immediately south of Broadway, and in the rear of the Manitoba Club. The buildings of the old evacuated fort, however they were utilized, remained until 1852, when as they were in part falling into the Assiniboine, they were demolished.

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Realizing the necessity for better and greater accommodation for the conduct of their business, which, since the coalition of the two companies, had greatly improved, in 1831 the Hudson's Bay Company built at the then head of deep water navigation, just below St. Andrew's Rapids, the large and costly establishment which became known as the Stone Fort, or lower Fort Garry. The general tradition amongst the English population was that Sir George Simpson, viewing with some alarm the increasing turbulence of a part of the metis of French extraction, deemed it advisable in case of a clash between the Company and that section of the Red River population, to have a stronghold nearer the centre of the English speaking white and half-breed inhabitants. Indeed, it was then generally understood in the Settlement that Government of the Company would be removed to the Lower Fort.

Whatever the policy may have been in 1831, it was changed, and Governor Alexander Christie, who had been a councillor of the governors of the Company's territories, and later Governor of Assiniboia in 1833 (an office he held for two terms, 1833-39 and 1844-48), began the erection in 1835 of the large and quite imposing Fort Garry which, until 1882, was the centre of the Company's business affairs in what is now Manitoba, and as well the centre of the social life of the Red River Settlement.

The Court House and jail was originally within the fort, but a minute of a meeting of the Council of Assiniboia held 3rd July, 1843, explains that "It being found exceedingly dangerous and inconvenient to have the public jail within the walls of Fort Garry, it was resolved: That the present jail be abandoned and that a new building be erected on some suitable spot by the Hudson's Bay Company, to be in future used for that purpose." The new Court House and Jail was built immediately adjoining the fort on the northwest side, and here several important cases were tried, particularly those connected with the claim of many of the inhabitants of the Settlement, both French and English, of their right to trade in furs, and which the Company, acting under the powers of its charter, granted in 1670, resolved not to concede. This claim of the people lay at the very root of the dissatisfaction which prevailed, causing serious outbreaks, and the presentation of their claims, by some of the people, to both the heads of the Hudson's Bay Company in London and the Canadian and British Governments. I happen to have the original letter book of Fort Garry, containing much of the correspondence that took place

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between the Company and the leaders of the Red River people on this subject, and it affords very entertaining and instructive reading.

On several occasions detachments of Imperial troops were sent to the Red River Settlement by the British Government in response to urgent requests of the Hudson's Bay Company, and these were all in turn, during their stay, quartered within the stone walls of Fort Garry. In 1846, eighteen officers and three hundred and twenty-nine men, being a wing of the 6th Royal Regiment of Foot, with artillery and engineers, under the command of Colonel John F. Crofton, arrived, having made the long journey from England via Hudson Bay, Lake Winnipeg and the Red River. They remained quartered in the fort for two years, and then returned to Great Britain by the same route.

In the autumn of 1848, seventy pensioners arrived under command of Major Caldwell, the object of this corps being that they should form the nucleus of a local force to be recruited in the Red River Settlement, to support the enforcement of the laws of the Hudson's Bay Company. Major Caldwell remained in the Settlement until 1855, but most of the men settled down in the country.

In 1856, the Company evidently brought strong pressure to bear on the Imperial Government to send another military force to Fort Garry. In this year also, two hundred United States troops arrived at Pembina, and the first act of this body was to issue a proclamation, notifying British subjects that they must not cross the International Boundary line to hunt or trade in furs. As a result of the situation, the Imperial Government in 1857 sent a company of the Royal Canadian Rifles via the Hudson's Bay route, and these remained until 1861, when they returned to England.

It was not until 1870 that the next troops appeared at Fort Garry, on the occasion of the first Riel Rebellion, at the time when Canada by mutual arrangement with the Imperial Government and the Hudson's Bay Company, was taking over and incorporating into the Dominion of Canada the whole territory of Ruperts Land, over which exclusive fur trading privileges had been given to the Company under their charter granted by King Charles in 1670. On this occasion, Colonel (afterwards His Lordship, Field Marshall) Wolseley conducted an expedition from Eastern Canada to Fort Garry, the force consisting of three hundred and fifty men of the Sixtieth Royal Rifles, with a small number of artillery and engineers, in addition to six hundred volunteers recruited in

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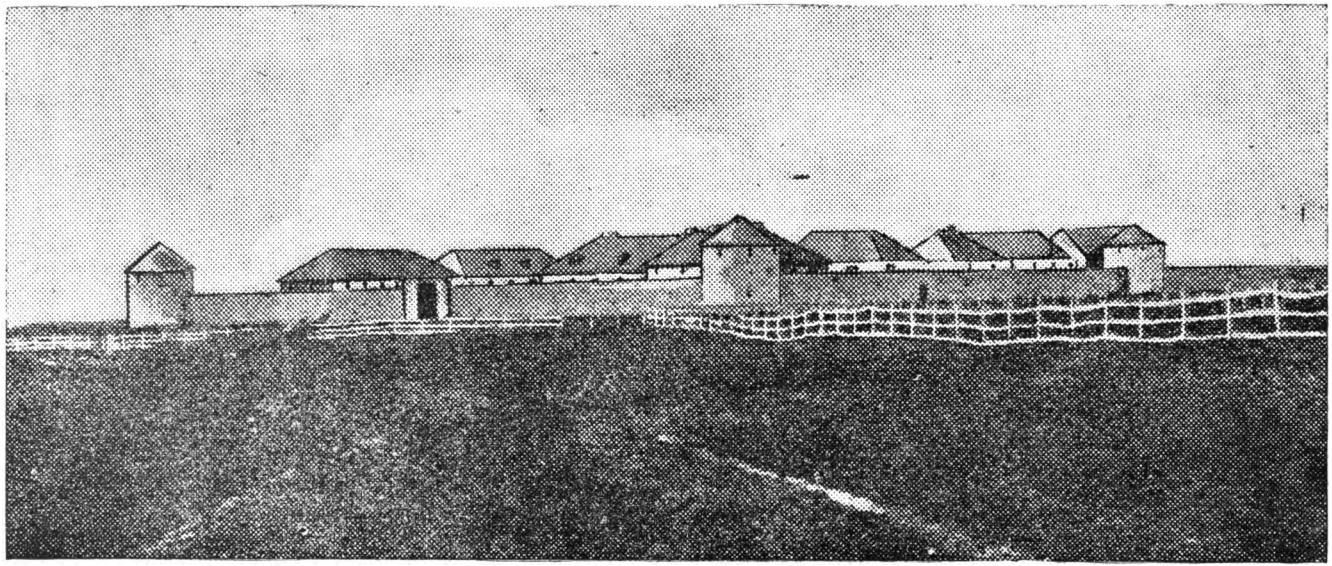

Fort Garry in 1858. One of first photographs taken in Red River. View from bank of Assiniboine east of present Main Street.

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Ontario and Quebec, but principally in Ontario. This force was conveyed in two hundred boats by the old fur traders' route from Fort William to Winnipeg, across some forty-seven portages, and that without the death of a single man, and with very little sickness. Colonel Wolseley laid strong emphasis on the fact that this was one of the few British military expeditions in history in which no liquor was served to the men. The regular troops, after a few days' stay, returned by the same route to Eastern Canada, while the six hundred volunteers remained quartered during the winter of 1870-71 in Fort Garry and Lower Fort Garry, with one company at the Hudson's Bay Company's post on the International line. In the spring of 1871, a great many of the officers and men took their discharges and remained in the country, the balance returning to their homes in Eastern Canada early in the summer. It may be of local interest to learn that but six of this force reside in Winnipeg today, viz.: Sir D. H. McMillan, Sir Hugh John Macdonald, W. F. Alloway, W. S. Volume, R. I. Jones and C. N. Bell.

On the departure of the general volunteer force, a "Service Company," recruited from officers and men from the Ontario and Quebec Battalions was organized as a permanent force to form a garrison in Fort Garry.

The next and last occasion on which a military force, sent from outside the province, arrived at Fort Garry, was when a body of Fenians traversed the State of Minnesota from St. Paul to Pembina, with the intention of taking possession of the Red River Settlement, and, if possible, making of it an Irish Republic. General O'Neil, in command, vociferously announced that he was to be joined by a large number of the French half-breeds resident in Manitoba. The Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba issued a call, and within 24 hours nine hundred citizens responded, were hastily armed, and, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Irvine, marched on a desperately cold day in October, 1871, in a storm of snow and sleet, across the Assiniboine (by scow ferry) and towards the International Boundary to meet the valorous general and his band of ruffians. The troops next day had reached where the town of Morris now stands, when they were met by information that Colonel Wheaton, commanding the United States troops at Pembina, ignoring the supposed International Line (which had not then been definitely located), had crossed and captured the general and his small band of tatter-demalions (who had not been joined by a single French half-breed). Order was immediately restored in the province, but on the news of the Fenian raid

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reaching the Canadian Government at Ottawa, a force was hastily organized and despatched to Fort Garry, two hundred men under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Scott, an old Eastern veteran of previous Fenian raids and Red River expedition experience, and this force reached Fort Garry on the 18th November, after going through great hardships, their boats being finally frozen in on the Lake of the Woods, after which the men marched from the North West Angle direct to Winnipeg, making 110 miles in four and a half days. This was one of the greatest feats, conducted under such circumstances, that Canadian troops have ever performed.

From 1871 a small permanent force of troops were quartered in the fort until the erection of barracks and other necessary military buildings in an enclosed space, which received the name of Fort Osborne.

The Lieutenant-Governors of Manitoba resided within the northern enclosure of Fort Garry, to which the gateway yet remaining was the entrance, until the building known as "Government House" was erected, and which is still the official residence of that official.

Fort Garry, as built in 1835, enclosed a space of 240 feet from north to south, and 280 feet from east to west, the heavy walls being constructed of stone, with four large round bastions at the corners. The buildings, including the officers' and employees' residential quarters, warehouses and retail store were distributed within the enclosing walls. The large main gate faced the Assiniboine River, and was not far back from the bank of that stream. There were two small postern gates, one of which was in the east wall beside the retail store, and it was through this gate that Thomas Scott was taken for his execution by order of Riel and his Provisional Government in 1870. The other postern gave access, through the main wall at the northeast corner of the fort, to what was called the fur warehouse. It may be here pointed out that several years after the original fort was built an addition was made at the north end to provide quarters for the resident governor of the Company. The high walls of this added enclosure were constructed of large solid square oak logs, laid horizontally in the form of crib work, the space between the outer and inner oak walls being filled with earth, and it was at this time that the gateway still remaining in the small Fort Garry Park was erected.

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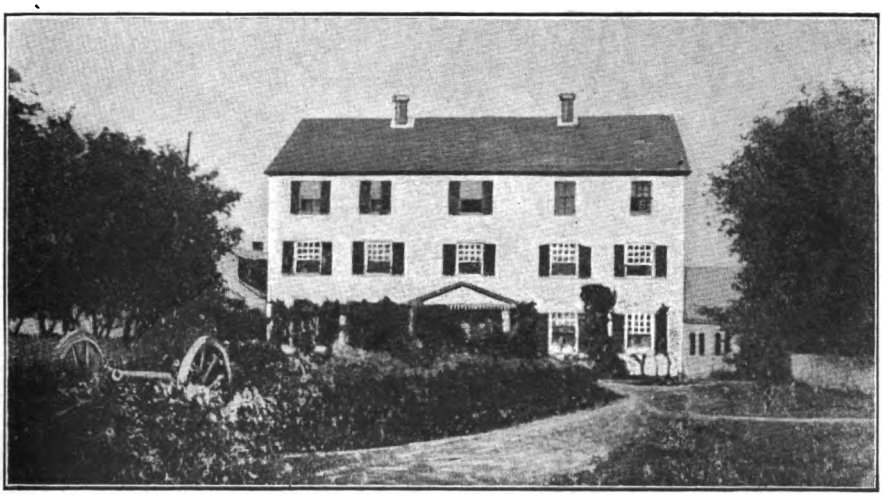
In 1882, during the Winnipeg real estate boom, the Company sold the fort and the ground upon which it stood, this area having been surveyed into city lots, and the purchasers demolished the fort, except the small northern gateway, which still remains; and so passed Fort Garry, the Second, within whose walls many scenes of excitement, hospitality and commerce took place during its existence from 1835-1882. The Governor's residence was the centre of many a jollification, on the occasions when he invited visiting and resident officers and other guests to grand spreads, the table being well supplied with choice tid-bits in the form of game obtained from all parts of the Company's territory. Reindeer tongues and ptarmigan from the far north, buffalo tongues and joints from the plains, smoked bear hams, carefully prepared pemmican of deer and buffalo meat made with marrow, moose nose, beaver tail, sturgeon and whitefish. and other delicacies were provided for the guests, to be washed down by the best of teas, and generally drowned with the choicest of old liquors and wines taken from the well stocked cellars of the fort. To be invited to dine at the Governor's table was an event to be looked forward to. The newly articled clerk on his first arrival was initiated into the mysteries of the fur trade by listening to the tremendous yarns of the officials from the interior districts, and those of us who, at a later date, had the privilege of listening to these weathern-worn men know what wonderful experiences they could relate. Now and then in the old days, some traveller on his



The Governor's house inside of Fort Garry, in immediate rear of gateway still standing. Courtesy Mr. H. S. Seaman.

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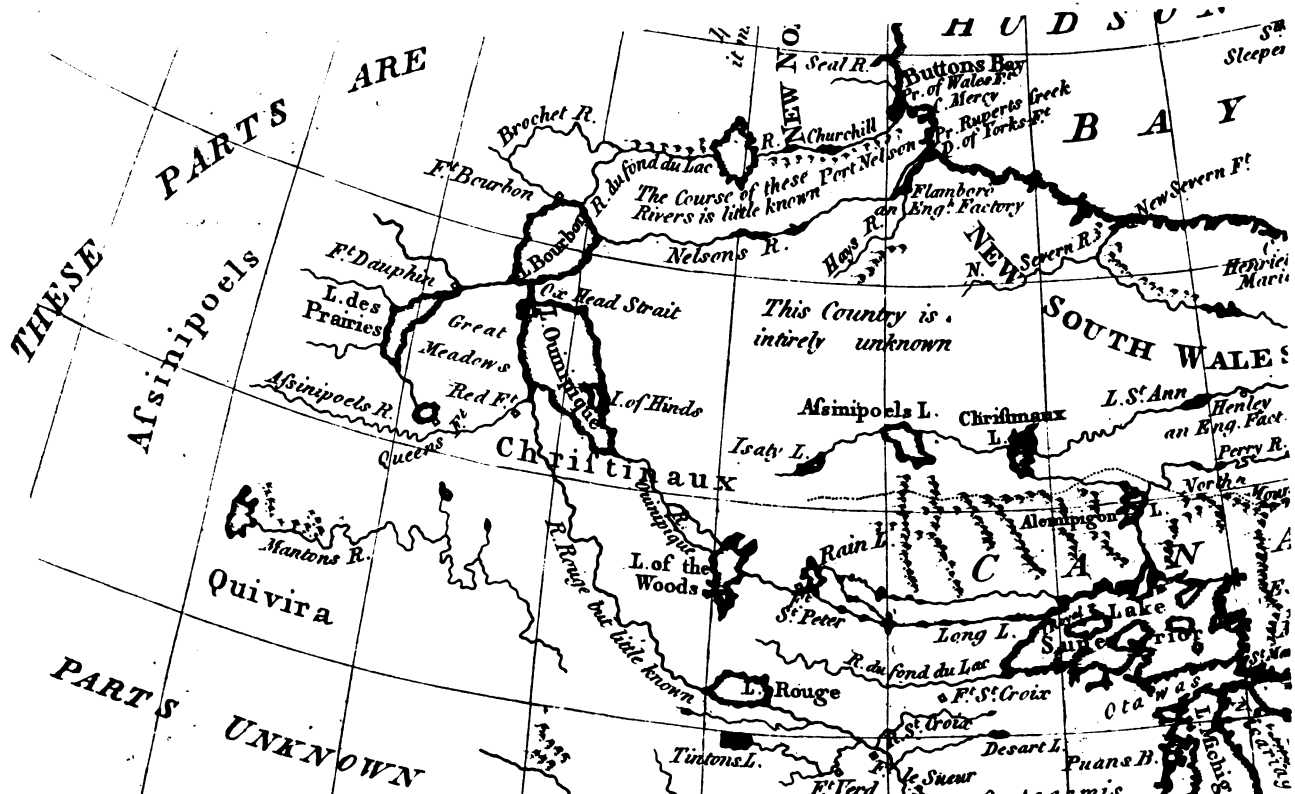

A section of a little-known map by Thos. Condor, London, after 1750. Note names of Verendrye's forts translated into English, and that R. Rouge is "but little known" but drains Lak Rouge, which also is a tributary of the Mississippi.

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way to the far west or north, in pusuit of exploration, scientific observations or hunting, passed through the Settlement, and always received a hearty welcome at the Fort; indeed the travellers who have given us books on their work and adventures in the then vast uncharted areas of the country, invariably dwell on the hospitality extended to them at Fort Garry.

This Society was largely instrumental in securing the old gateway and park for the City of Winnipeg. Representatives of the Society taking the opportunity of Lord Strathcona visiting the City, waited on him and urgently pleaded that the site be donated to Winnipeg to be used for all time as a public park. His Lordship was most sympathetic and shortly afterwards the Hudson's Bay Company made conveyance of the property to the City.

—CHARLES NAPIER BELL.

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